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**STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE COM-
MUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES**

PART 1

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

NOVEMBER 20, 21, AND 22, 1961

(INCLUDING INDEX)

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Committee on Un-American Activities**



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U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1962

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on³Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946]; 60 Stat. 812, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q)(1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member.

* * * * *

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 87TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 8, January 3, 1961

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * *

(r) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

18. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

27. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

SYNOPSIS

At public hearings in Washington on November 20–22, 1961, the committee explored the structure, organization, and leadership of the Communist Party of the United States, its guiding principles and its ties with, and complete subservience to, the Soviet Communist Party.

During these hearings, the committee received testimony from its director of research, Francis J. McNamara, and interrogated five witnesses who had played key roles in recent Communist Party activities, either as party officers or staff members of the party's official newspaper. A total of 110 documents, including both publicly and secretly distributed Communist writings, was introduced during the hearings.

Testimony and evidence before the committee revealed that (1) the Communist Party of the United States is a paramilitary organization, whose members are required to respond with lock-step obedience to directives channeled down to them through a hierarchy of party officials; (2) nonelected, self-perpetuating party officials enforce obedience with the aid of martial disciplinary procedures; (3) the membership does not participate in policy decisions, and dissent constitutes heresy in the Communist Party; (4) the system of organization is patterned after the select and secret party of professional revolutionists developed by Lenin prior to the Bolshevik overthrow of the Russian Government in 1917; and (5) the Communist Party of the U.S. remains completely subservient to the Soviet Union.

PARTY STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION

With the use of visual aids Mr. McNamara provided a graphic presentation of the Communist Party's organizational structure from the National Board—the top ruling clique—down to clubs operating in industrial plants and local residential neighborhoods. The top Communist leaders and the positions they held in the party were also identified.

The committee's research director testified as to the functions of the various organizational units of the party—the national convention, national committee, national executive committee, national board, national commissions, and many subordinate groups operating on the district, state, county, city, section, and club levels. He pointed out that this paramilitary party structure—operating under the Communist principles of monolithic unity and democratic centralism—provides the Red leaders with the necessary tools for enforcing their will upon party members. Mr. McNamara reviewed the reorganization of the party apparatus, begun in 1959, which sought to streamline and increase the efficiency of the party by eliminating unnecessary bureaucracy between the national and local levels of the organization. He also described the effect of Khrushchev's 1956 de-Stalinization speech which precipitated a wide split and much confusion in the party ranks, and led many American Communists to call for the incorporation and practice of certain democratic procedures within the party.

COMMUNIST TESTIMONIALS ON THE TRUE NATURE OF THEIR PARTY

Typical of those American Communists who took a new and more objective look at their own Communist organization after Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin was Robert Friedman, then city editor of the *Daily Worker*. Mr. Friedman's writings, in the *Daily Worker* under his own name and in a secret, internal bulletin of the New York State Communist Party under the alias "Robert Mann," made charges going to "the very nature of the Communist Party, its procedures, structure and methods of work." Friedman was called as a witness and interrogated regarding his knowledge of certain basic and totalitarian operational procedures of the party which he had revealed in the New York party bulletin, *Party Voice*, under date of June 1956:

I joined the movement in my late teens at the height of the depression. * * *

But, although I had had no long experience in other organizations, trade union or otherwise, I quickly came to recognize a disparity between the methods of work, either already existing or fought for by Communists and others in organizations and unions and in the party organization itself.

In the unemployed organization to which I belonged, I insisted on elections, minutes, motions, decisions, check-up, majority rule and parliamentary process. In my club [of the Communist Party], I became increasingly conscious of the absence of all this * * *.

* * * * *

We swallowed whole the concept of a tightly disciplined, "chain-of-command" type of organization, adopted from abroad.

Robert Friedman told the committee that he had not been a member of the Communist Party in the past 4 years and was presently "anti-Communist" and opposed to the Communist system. He confirmed that the principle of "democratic centralism"—on which the Communist Party, USA, is admittedly organized—is "just a pretty word to cover and cloak the totalitarian Soviet system of government." However, Friedman refused on grounds of possible self-incrimination to answer any and all committee questions involving an acknowledgment of his own past participation in the party.

Witness Leon Nelson was interrogated by the committee regarding proposals he advanced to the National Committee of the Communist Party in June 1956 for the democratization of the party. Then organizational secretary of the New York State Communist Party, Nelson had also urged the party to "cast off to positions of greater independence of policy and public expression from positions we have held in the past in regard to our relationship to the Soviet Union and other lands of Socialism." In his report to the National Committee, which was received in evidence, he had further objected to the fact that party organizational concepts were taken "lock, stock, and barrel" from Lenin; that nonelected leaders issued policy decisions without consultation with the membership; and that even the few democratic procedures provided for in the party constitution were never actually practiced.

Documentation produced at the hearings revealed that Mr. Nelson had lost his position with the important New York State party organization in June 1957 and that, within another year, other officers of the State organization, holding similar views, had left in the face of the party's complete domination by a staunchly pro-Soviet faction. Nelson responded to all committee questions on recent Communist

Party developments and his own participation therein by invoking the fifth-amendment provisions against self-incrimination.

Exhibits introduced in the hearing showed that other Communists considered the party's constitution as largely a propaganda document; that the party is not a "political party as the American people understand it," but rather a "semi-military" or "war-military" organization, ruled despotically with the aid of a harsh system of discipline.

In October 1956, an entire Brooklyn club of the party protested against the prevailing practice which required that "once a policy decision has been made, it must never be questioned as a matter of party discipline." The club complained that "Discussion in many areas has taken place in an atmosphere of intimidation" and "Differences of opinion have often been construed as 'antileadership tendencies' and outright 'deviationism.'" ¹

One party leader declared that "whatever Stalin said became our policy" and another member that, American Communists were "living our lives, to some extent, vicariously, as Soviet citizens." Yet another Communist described the party in America as "a miniature Soviet party in both organizational form and domestic outlook." A fourth Communist reminded his fellow comrades:

The American Communist Party does not approach the American people with clean hands, as far as the Soviet Union is concerned. The American Communist Party repeated, as gospel truth, which it sincerely believed, every lie told by the Soviet Union about its living standards, about Tito, about democracy in the Soviet Communist Party, about the Moscow trials, about the electoral system, about the Doctors' Case, the stamping out of Jewish culture.

The hearings disclosed that the majority of the leadership of the Communist Party of the U.S. was at odds with the new (post-Stalin) Kremlin bosses. This majority even advocated that the U.S. party assert a measure of independence from the Soviet Union, but a minority group of American Red leaders held out for continued total subservience to Moscow. This minority group was headed by the late William Z. Foster, who was national chairman of the Communist Party of the U.S. at the time of Khrushchev's de-Stalinization speech in 1956, and was named honorary chairman at the 16th National Convention of the party in 1957, a year before the conflict between his group and the majority leadership was resolved. Evidence introduced at the hearings demonstrated that the Kremlin threw its weight behind Foster, and went all out to settle the American Communist Party conflict in favor of his minority faction.

Although A. B. Magil, former foreign editor of the *Daily Worker*, invoked the fifth amendment when called to testify before the committee, documents introduced in the hearings showed that he had been one of many American Communists castigated personally by the Soviet Communists for expressing views in opposition to those held by the Fosterites.

The hearings disclosed that Moscow made its first effort (following Khrushchev's February 25, 1956, speech against Stalin) to regroup its confused Communist parties in other countries on June 30, 1956, when

¹ "Deviationism" in Communist terminology means departing, either to the left or right, from the correct party line. Generally speaking, right deviationists (opportunists) want to go slower and pursue a "softer" course than does the party leadership, while left deviationists (sectarians) call for bolder and more unyielding tactics to fulfill Communist aims.

the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party adopted a resolution of censure against Italian Communists. The resolution, which served as a warning to dissenting Reds everywhere, condemned Italian Communists for criticizing the Soviet Government and demanded a resumption of international Communist "solidarity" under Soviet leadership. This warning from Moscow served to put a brake on the independent thinking stimulated within the American Communist Party by the shock of Khrushchev's charges against Stalin a few months earlier. This was the assessment of Communists themselves. There was an immediate abject response to the Soviet Central Committee by such American Communist leaders as Chairman Foster and the late Eugene Dennis, then general secretary of the party.

The committee's hearings called attention to a rapid succession of other Soviet statements, widely propagated by Soviet press, radio, and international Communist journals. The still recalcitrant American Communist officials and writers came under bitter, personal attack. The Soviets took issue with Communists in the United States who—

demand, instead of democratic centralism, adoption of the principle of "democratic leadership," the right of the minority to organize factions, to reject and refuse to submit to majority decisions, to "fight to become the majority."

and

campaign for withdrawing their Parties from the international Communist movement and, above all, for severing contact with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet leadership extolled the merits of the traditional Leninist form of party organization with its "unity" and "uniform discipline" and accused "reformists" of attempting "to reduce the revolutionary proletarian party to the level of ordinary bourgeois parties." The deviating opinions of American Communists, such as John Gates and witness A. B. Magil, were quoted with derision by Soviet Communists, who did not hesitate to resort to name-calling or quoting out of context in their effort to quell the revolt in the American Communist Party. According to Soviet statements, the majority of American leaders and their adherents during this period of conflict were "anti-Marxist," "unstable elements," and "unhealthy" forces.

French Communist leader Jacques Duclos, a Soviet intermediary, was enlisted to promote a victory for Fosterite forces in the U.S. Communist Party. The ouster of American Communist chief, Earl Browder, in 1945 had been precipitated by a condemnation from Duclos, then acting as Stalin's intermediary. Duclos sent two sharp messages to the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, held in February 1957. He warned American Communists that changes proposed by "reformist" elements involved "dangerous departures" from Communist principles of party organization, exemplified by the Soviet Communist Party.

Although William Z. Foster, national chairman, appealed to other party leaders to heed the words of Moscow and Duclos, the party convention did nothing to resolve the internal struggle. A "collective leadership" body, representative of the main contending factions, was installed at the 16th National Convention, in striking similarity to the collective leadership then prevailing in the Soviet Union while Khrushchev vied with other Soviet Communists for supreme power.

The power struggle within the Communist Party, USA, continued unabated for another year—featured, as the committee hearings demonstrated, by intrigues among various factions of American Communists, each seeking undisputed domination of the party organization, together with a continuing barrage of Soviet interventionist declarations.

In November 1957, Khrushchev, who had finally attained dominance over the Soviet Government, called representatives of 65 Communist parties throughout the world to Moscow. Declarations signed as a result of this meeting called for, and recognized, the necessity for unity of the international Communist movement under Soviet leadership, and condemned Communists who would deviate from the Soviet norm.

Leaders of the main contending factions in the U.S. Communist Party admitted that the international Communist declarations at Moscow played a key role in enabling the abjectly pro-Soviet faction of American Communists to reorganize and assume undisputed control of the top party bodies in February 1958. The resolution of the U.S. party power struggle in Moscow's favor was further assisted by the intrigues of the pro-Soviet faction, and by continuing resignations of Communists who despaired of any change in the traditional party operation.

A new National Executive Committee of the CPUSA (eight of the nine members of which had long been identified as unwavering supporters of Soviet Communist leadership) was installed. Almost immediately, this new group adopted a public statement aligning the party organization in America with the policies of the world's Communist parties enunciated at Moscow in November 1957.

HEARINGS DISCLOSE RECENT COMMUNIST DISCIPLINARY CASES

The interrogation of witnesses Homer Chase and Alexander Bittelman dealt with very recent disciplinary actions by the Communist Party leadership.

In 1960, Homer B. Chase served as "organizer" (the top official) of the New England District of the Communist Party, USA, and held membership on the party's National Committee. In October of the same year, the National Secretariat—a five-man body then representing the pinnacle of leadership in the American party organization—circulated a letter among party members within the New England District, charging Chase with opposition to party "policy," and announcing that action against him would be on the agenda of the next meeting of the National Committee. The letter demanded that New England Communists repudiate Chase and take steps to establish a new district leadership.

Further, the National Secretariat warned Communists in the New England District that any actions taken in support of Mr. Chase violated the party's organizational principles of "democratic centralism" and "Party discipline." Other significant observations were made in the letter regarding party procedure following the termination of the power struggle in 1958:

During the past few years, our party has successfully weathered the most severe crisis in its history. It has * * * defeated the onslaught of revisionism, as well as the assaults of the ultra-left dogmatists from within its ranks.

In these struggles the 17th National Convention [1959] was a major landmark, registering an impressive advance toward the unification of the Party. This was expressed in Comrade Gus Hall's concluding remarks in these words: "Above all—and of crucial importance—emerging from the 17th Convention is the fact that we have *one* party, *one* policy and *one* direction. . . . The policy, line and direction set forth at this convention will be the policy, line and direction for the whole Party, for every member, including national committee members and officers."

* * * * *

We are now at a point where the looseness of the past on policy questions, growing out of the severe ideological struggles through which we have passed, can no longer be tolerated. Today the Party must demand that every leading comrade, without exception, adhere to and fight for the Party's policies * * *.

A lengthy bill of particulars on Mr. Chase's differences with prevailing party "policy" included the charge that he was "guilty of irresponsible anti-Soviet statements." His opposition to various party tactics—such as Communist participation in the 1960 electoral campaign—was also cited as an example of what the party leadership labeled as "sectarian" or "ultra-left dogmatist" deviations. Mr. Chase was subsequently ousted from leadership of the party's New England District. His National Committee membership was revoked in January 1961.

When Chase was interrogated by the committee on this documented record of party disciplinary action, he refused on constitutional grounds to discuss his relations with the Communist Party. His volubility with respect to his personal views, however, was instructive, in light of the response it had provoked from the Communist Party leadership. Chase testified, for example, that he had "always regarded Stalin as an outstanding humanist"; that Khrushchev's attacks on the late dictator were unjustified and against the interests of the working class; and that "the outstanding Marxist-Leninist" is the Chinese Communist leader, Mao Tse-tung.

Another disciplinary case, acted upon at the January 1961 meeting of the Communist Party's National Committee, was that of Alexander Bittelman, for years the party's leading spokesman on matters of Communist theory. Although Mr. Bittelman was one of the founders of the Communist Party, USA, and long an occupant of high national office, the present party leadership decided to throw him out of the organization he had served for more than 41 years.

Alexander Bittelman was among those American Communists who, to use his own words, took "a fresh look" at the theory and practice of communism after Khrushchev embarked on his de-Stalinization campaign in 1956. In October 1957, the *Daily Worker*—then under the editorship of the reformist John Gates—published a series of 12 articles by Bittelman, in which he discussed the prevailing party crisis, re-examined various Communist theoretical and programmatic concepts, and offered his proposals for a peculiarly "American" road to socialism. He suggested, for example, that American Communists strive for a new, intermediate goal of a "welfare state," which would precede an eventual "peaceful and constitutional transition" to a Communist system of government in this Nation.

William Z. Foster immediately took up the cudgels against Bittelman, accusing him of "revisionism"—the type of deviation from "true" Marxism-Leninism which Foster and the Soviet Communists were attributing to the majority leadership of the Communist Party, USA, at this time.

In 1958, following the takeover of party leadership by rigidly Moscow-oriented Communists, Bittelman's views were publicly condemned by fellow members of an important party committee engaged in preparing a draft program for the party's next national convention. In 1959, Bittelman announced plans to publish a book written by him expounding his views on an "American" road to socialism. Although the new party leadership threatened him with dire consequences if he published it, the book was released in September 1960.

The National Secretariat of the party immediately instructed Mr. Bittelman's local party club to terminate his membership. The club obeyed in November 1960, and the action was affirmed by the National Committee in January 1961.

In his appearance before the committee, Mr. Bittelman refused, on constitutional grounds, to answer any and all questions dealing with the Communist Party or his participation in its affairs. Documents introduced in the course of the committee's interrogation of this witness included the statement of charges by which the party's National Secretariat justified the expulsion of Bittelman. The Secretariat accused him of violating the "Party principles of democratic centralism," "insistent defiance of Party discipline," and advocacy of "views in direct opposition to the very principles of the organization which he joined to uphold."

The National Secretariat of the Communist Party, to prove that Bittelman was guilty of "departure from Marxism-Leninism," "bourgeois individualism," and other heresies, quoted from the new Soviet textbook, *Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism*, which was published in 1959 for the stated purpose of providing a "scientifically sound, though popular, elucidation of the Marxist-Leninist teaching" which, the Soviet editors reminded, was "not a dogma but a guide to action." The National Secretariat used excerpts from this book to show that Bittelman was guilty of "reformist and revisionist" deviation in foreseeing an "evolving" of capitalism into communism, rather than "a clear-cut program of decisive struggle against the capitalist monopolies * * * for the overthrow of the dictatorship of a handful of monopolist aristocracy."

STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1961

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.
PUBLIC HEARINGS

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 2:00 p.m., in the Caucus Room, Old House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Morgan M. Moulder (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Morgan M. Moulder, of Missouri, chairman; William M. Tuck, of Virginia; Donald C. Bruce, of Indiana; and Henry C. Schadeberg, of Wisconsin.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., director, and Alfred M. Nittle, counsel.

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will be in order.

The Committee on Un-American Activities met here in Washington on April 26, 1961, and adopted the following resolution:

BE IT RESOLVED, that hearings by the Committee on Un-American Activities or a subcommittee thereof, to be held at such place or places as the Chairman may direct, on such date or dates as the Chairman may determine, be authorized and approved, including the conduct of investigations deemed reasonably necessary by the staff in preparation therefor, relating to:

1. The present structure and organization of the Communist Party of the United States, its strategic and tactical methods and objectives, and its international conspiracy aspects, in order that the Committee and Congress may be informed of the extent, character and objectives thereof for the purpose of the adoption of remedial legislation designed to protect the national security of the country.

2. Any other matter within the jurisdiction of the Committee which it, or any subcommittee thereof, appointed to conduct these hearings, may designate.

A subcommittee was appointed by Chairman Francis E. Walter to conduct the hearings commencing today, and I insert the following record of appointment:

NOVEMBER 9, 1961.

TO: Mr. FRANK S. TAVENNER, JR.

Director

House Committee on Un-American Activities

Pursuant to the provisions of the law and the Rules of this Committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, consisting of Honorable Morgan M. Moulder as Chairman, and Honorable William M. Tuck, Honorable August E. Johansen, Honorable Donald C. Bruce, and Honorable Henry C. Schadeberg as associate members, to conduct a hearing in Washington, D.C., Monday, November 20, 1961, at 10:00 a.m., on subjects under investigation

by the Committee and take such testimony on said day or succeeding days, as it may deem necessary.

Please make this action a matter of Committee record.

If any Member indicates his inability to serve, please notify me.

Given under my hand this 9th day of November, 1961.

/s/ Francis E. Walter,
FRANCIS E. WALTER, *Chairman*
Committee on Un-American Activities.

These hearings, originally set for June 17th, have been postponed a number of times due to the press of other committee business, and I desire to emphasize that the holding of the hearings at this time has no connection whatever with the registration provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950, which are now in the process of being enforced.

It is the avowed purpose of the World Communist Movement, of which the Communist Party of the United States has always been an integral part, to destroy our free society—by violent means if need be—and to supplant our constitutional government by Soviet-style dictatorship. As recently as December 1960, 81 of the world's 87 Communist parties, after a meeting at Moscow, unanimously affirmed this long-standing and basic Communist objective in the following language of their manifesto:

The Marxist-Leninist Parties head the struggle * * * for the accomplishment of the Socialist [meaning Communist] revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another. The forms and course of development of the socialist revolution will depend on the specific balance of the class forces in the country concerned, on the organization and maturity of the working class and its vanguard, and on the extent of the resistance put up by the ruling class. [Emphasis supplied.]

The new Soviet textbook, *Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism*, which was issued in 1959 for the "guidance" of Communists throughout the world, stated the Communist strategy even more bluntly:

Wherever the reactionary bourgeoisie has a strong army and police force at its disposal, the working class will encounter fierce resistance. There can be no doubt that in a number of capitalist countries the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship will inevitably take place through an armed class struggle.

and

Of course, it would be wrong to think that power can be won by parliamentary means on any election day. * * * Marxists-Leninists do not have so primitive a conception of the coming of the working class to power through the parliament.

The aforementioned Moscow meeting of Communist party representatives from every corner of the globe also boasted that "The world Communist movement has become the most influential political force of our time" and that "Communists throughout the world are united by the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and by a joint struggle for its realization."

Communists in the United States, at their last national convention in 1959, reaffirmed their adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and their unity with the Soviet and other foreign Communist parties on so-called "ideology" and their common goal of the worldwide establishment of communism.

Pursuing a mandate of Congress and Public Law 601 of the 79th Congress, this committee has been engaged in gathering information concerning the operation of this worldwide conspiracy within the United States, so that the Congress might be adequately advised of the facts and, therefore, prepared to consider or enact such remedial

or amendatory legislation as, from time to time, may be deemed necessary in the interest of the national security. This is a grave and vital responsibility.

Today we pursue our inquiries into an area involving the present structure, organizational principles, and functioning of the Communist Party, U.S.A., with particular reference to the methods by which its leadership and policies have been determined in recent years and the precise nature of the relationship between the party organization in this country and the international Communist movement dominated by the Soviet dictatorship.

Marxism-Leninism is the constitutional basis of Communist policy and organization. While Marx provided the theoretical or philosophical basis for the Communist revolution, Lenin is the originator of the militant Communist Party we know today and which is the device or instrumentality created by him to ensure the success of the World Communist Movement. This contribution to world disorder and oppression has created a status of equal godship for Lenin with Marx in the cult of materialism—a cult which is the moral equivalent of the Thuggee of India—and explains the constant association of the two names, Marxism-Leninism, by the devotees. Marx did not see Communists forming a party strictly separate from, or opposed to, other working class parties. The parties which formed during his lifetime were working class parties, with elected leaders loosely held together by similar programs or platforms. It was for Lenin to provide the perhaps original concept of the monolithic revolutionary party, with clear delineation of its organizational programs, methods, and details.

Although a measure of originality can be attributed to Lenin in his concept of the Communist Party, it must be realized that he was inspired by his environment of Russian revolutionary history, just as Marx was influenced by the theories of the Utopians who preceded him. I believe it reasonable to say that Lenin undoubtedly owes his inspiration to Sergei Nechaev, who was active around 1870 as the head of the People's Retribution group, or Society of the Axe, together with the leader of another revolutionary group named Peter Tkachev.

Nechaev was not a Marxist, but a nihilist. His goal was the overthrow of monarchy and the substitution of minority rule. He was a teacher in Petersburg and organized student disorder. With his own hands, he murdered a young student who defected from his leadership. His slogan was, "Everything for the revolution. The end justifies the means." He set up cell groups, which were not let into the ultimate plans of the conspiracy. Members were designated by numbers in order to conceal their activities. He provided detailed rules of organization, together with a philosophy for the revolutionists. According to Nechaev, and these are his words:

The Revolutionist * * * is a doomed man. He has no private interests, no affairs, sentiments, ties, property nor even a name of his own. His entire being is devoured by one purpose, one thought, one passion—the revolution * * *. Heart and soul, not merely by word but by deed, he has severed every link with the social order and with the entire civilized world; with the laws, good manners, conventions, and morality of that world. He is its merciless enemy and continues to inhabit it with only one purpose—to destroy it * * *. He despises public opinion. He hates and despises the social morality of his time, its motives and manifestations. Everything which promotes the success of the revolution is moral, everything which hinders it is immoral * * *. The nature of the true revolutionist excludes all romanticism, all tenderness, all ecstasy, all love.

Nor was Tkachev a Marxist, but he, too, believed in conspiratorial-type organization and the establishment of minority rule. He said, "The people, of course, is necessary for a social revolution. But only when the revolutionary minority assumes the leadership in this revolution." Lenin adopted and applied these precepts in toto, and indeed acknowledged the contributions of the authors.

The creation of a militant and savage party, which would lead the world "proletariat" in rebellion, was a task to which Lenin devoted his life. He said that the party "must stand at the head of the working class * * * and not follow in the tail of the spontaneous movement." He, therefore, directed the creation of organizations of revolutionaries whose profession would be that of a revolutionary. The organization of the party and its leadership would "proceed from the top." In setting up the Communist Party as an organization of professional revolutionaries, he recognized that such a party "must of necessity not be too extensive and as secret as possible." Further, the party must be a "small, compact core, consisting of reliable, experienced and hardened workers, with responsible agents in the principal districts and connected by all the rules of strict secrecy with the organizations of revolutionaries," and would consist of people "who will devote to the revolution not only their spare evenings, but the whole of their lives * * *."

In a series of writings, speeches, and directives recorded in numerous volumes, which constitute a sort of Communist demonology, Lenin devised principles that still govern the basic organization and objectives, as well as tactics and strategy, of the Communist parties throughout the world.

Successive Soviet dictators have introduced various tactical innovations to meet the exigencies of the existing world situation; these changes and Soviet interpretations of Lenin's old pronouncements make up the so-called Marxist-Leninist doctrine, which represents the articles of faith for Communists throughout the world. Bolstered by the fact that the USSR was the first, and for many years the sole, nation under actual Communist rule, the Soviet dictatorship became the supreme authority for the World Communist Movement. Autocratic Soviet direction of the world's Communist parties was unchallenged and not even questioned during Stalin's long and brutally tyrannical reign.

The disputes with respect to ideology and policy which have arisen among Communist parties following Soviet dictator Khrushchev's "de-Stalinization" campaign in 1956 have not ended Soviet dominance of the World Communist Movement. While the movement today may lack a single unchallenged center, as in Stalin's day, it continues to remain firmly united on Soviet pre-eminence and the goal of the speediest possible world Communist victory. As was pointed out in the S1-party manifesto previously referred to:

The Communist and Workers' Parties unanimously declare that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been, and remains, the universally recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement * * *.

To maintain party solidarity, both as to organization and objectives, Lenin urged a regard for "theoretical struggle" as of equal importance to the "economic and political struggle." The world movement must

maintain strict unity. There must be no departure, either to the right or left of the party ideology and leadership. An entire new vocabulary was created for the theoretical dialogue, including such interesting expressions as revisionism, deviation, adventurist, left sectarianism, dogmatism, right opportunism, autonomism, economism, and reformism. We shall determine, in the course of these hearings, the manner in which such principles and Soviet leadership are, in certain basic aspects, followed, enforced, and maintained within the Communist Party of the United States.

Those expected to testify during the course of these hearings include a competent research analyst on the staff of this committee and a number of individuals who have been prominent in the organizational activities and theoretical dialogue of the Communist Party of the United States.

Would you call your first witness, please.

Mr. NITTLE. Francis J. McNamara.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony which you are about to give before the committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. McNAMARA. I do.

TESTIMONY OF FRANCIS J. McNAMARA

Mr. NITTLE. For the purpose of the record, would you please state your name.

Mr. McNAMARA. Francis J. McNamara.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your occupation?

Mr. McNAMARA. I am presently employed as director of research for the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. NITTLE. As director of research, Mr. McNamara, were you asked to supervise and take part in certain studies of the Communist Party in preparation for these hearings?

Mr. McNAMARA. I was.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF U.S. COMMUNIST PARTY

Mr. NITTLE. Did these studies concern, among other things, the organizational structure and leadership of the Communist Party?

Mr. McNAMARA. They did.

Mr. NITTLE. Could you tell us what you found concerning Communist Party structure?

Mr. McNAMARA. As far as the structure is concerned, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover in his report for fiscal 1961 included a chart which showed the organizational setup of the Communist Party, among other things. This chart, with the nonstructural items deleted, has been enlarged and reproduced as an exhibit for this hearing. It is now being placed on the easel to my right.

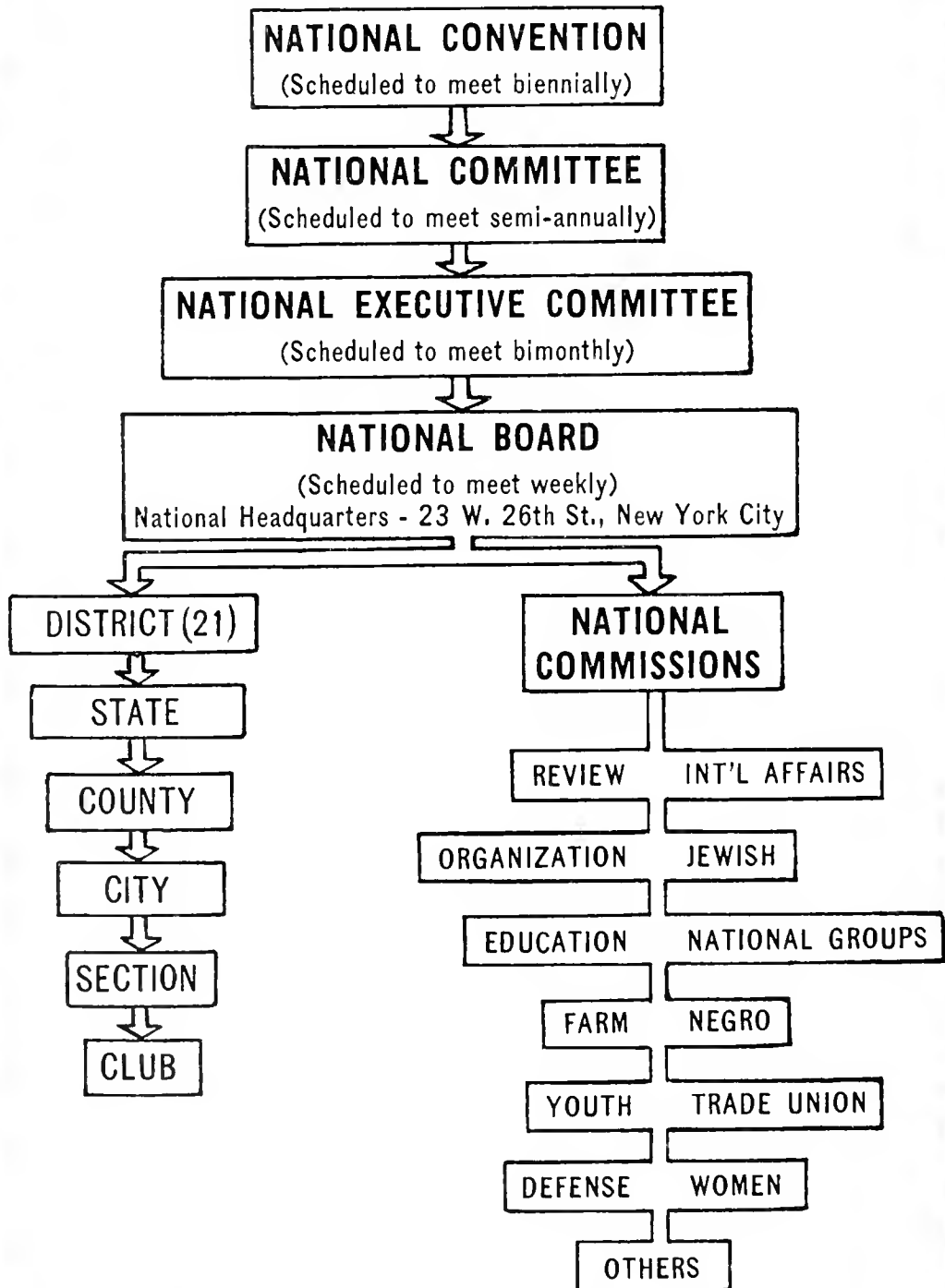
Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that that chart be introduced in the record of this hearing and designated Committee Exhibit No. 1.

Mr. MOULDER. The exhibit referred to will be admitted as a part of the record.

(Document marked "Committee Exhibit No. 1" follows:)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE



NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. McNamara, would you please give us some explanation of this chart, beginning with the highest, the national-level, units of the party?

Mr. McNAMARA. Yes. The Communist Party constitution, adopted in 1957, Article V, entitled "National Organization," Section 1, states:

The highest authority of the Party is the National Convention which is authorized to make political and organizational decisions binding upon the entire Party and its membership. Regular National Conventions shall be held every two years, within the first six months of the year.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. McNamara, in reply to my question, you quoted the Communist Party constitution. Is this a reliable document?

Mr. McNAMARA. The U.S. Communist Party constitution, like that of the Soviet Union, is largely a propaganda document, as will be demonstrated conclusively in these hearings. To a great extent, it is no more than a mere piece of paper designed to give a democratic window dressing to a totalitarian, monolithic organization, to mislead non-Communists into believing that the Communist Party actually operates on democratic principles.

Despite this, however, the constitution is useful in demonstrating the formal organizational setup of the party; and of course, it is essential to consider the constitution, the proclaimed basic principles of the party, when dealing with the party's real nature, and to show the great gulf which exists between the party's actual practices and the democratic principles which are so piously enunciated in the constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. You have a copy of the Communist Party constitution before you?

Mr. McNAMARA. I do.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully request that this document be introduced as Committee Exhibit No. 2 and retained in the files of the committee.

Mr. MOULDER. The exhibit referred to will be made a part of the files of the committee.

(Document marked "Committee Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Has the Communist Party lived up to its rules with reference to the holding of national conventions?

Mr. McNAMARA. It has not. The constitution states that its national conventions will be held every 2 years, and within the first 6 months of each year. The 16th National Convention, at which this constitution was adopted, was held in February 1957. The 17th National Convention was held in December 1959, obviously not within the first 6 months of that year, as the constitution provides; and the time that elapsed between the two conventions was much closer to 3 than to 2 years.

According to the constitution, too, the 18th National Convention of the Communist Party should have been held within the first 6 months of this year. To date, however, there has not been a word said about the holding of such a convention.

Moreover, it cannot be argued that the Supreme Court decision upholding the registration provisions of the Internal Security Act is responsible for this. That decision was not handed down until

June, and a convention could have been held any time before then; and if the party had intended to abide by its constitutional provisions on this matter, there surely would have been some word in the early part of the year, at least, about plans for a convention within the first 6 months—even if it later were to be called off.

MR. NITTLE. When was the 15th National Convention of the Communist Party held?

MR. McNAMARA. The 15th National Convention of the Communist Party was held in December 1950. There was a gap of 7 years between that convention and the 16th.

This happened because the party was almost completely underground during that period. This was a period in which over 100 of its national leaders were convicted under the Smith Act conspiracy clause in courts of original jurisdiction. Conventions and all large gatherings of the Communist Party were abolished during this period as a security measure. This was an effort on the part of the party to protect its leaders and key functionaries from exposure and possible additional prosecutions under the laws of this land, primarily the Smith Act.

MR. NITTLE. How are party delegates selected for its national convention?

MR. McNAMARA. According to Section 2, Article V, of the constitution, they are elected by secret ballot at state and district conventions which precede the national convention.

Now, the number elected from each state or district is determined by the “approximate”—the constitution says—proportion of the total membership, nationally, represented by each state or district.

The national leadership of the party actually has the power to rig the representation from each state or district according to its desires. The constitution states that this approximate proportion of delegates from each state and district will be established “as the National Committee may determine.”

This is found in lines 6 and 7 of Section 2, Article V, page 12, of the constitution.

MR. NITTLE. In his opening statement the chairman of this subcommittee quoted from Lenin as to the nature of party organization and quoted Lenin to the effect that the party must be “a small, compact core,” and that the party “must of necessity not be too extensive and as secret as possible.”

Now, in fact, did you find that principle of secrecy applied in the meetings of the national convention? That is to say, are the national conventions of the party open meetings? Are representatives of the press, radio, and television permitted to cover these conventions, as they are permitted to cover conventions, national conventions, of the Republican and Democratic Parties?

MR. McNAMARA. The Communist Party conventions are secret. Only the party members are permitted to attend them. There was a slight and, I might add, a calculated departure from this rule in the case of the 16th National Convention of the party held in 1957. The *Daily Worker* of February 8, 1957, on page 1, published an article about this forthcoming convention, and the item opened with the following words:

In an unprecedented move, the National Committee of the Communist Party yesterday voted to propose to the opening session of its 16th national convention,

due to convene here tomorrow, the admission of a group of non-Communist observers from the civil liberties, peace and church movements.

It is interesting to note the use of that word "unprecedented." Here the official organ of the Communist Party admitted that its conventions had always been secret up to this time.

Now, in making this decision, the National Committee of the Communist Party, I believe, was trying to offset the effect numerous Smith Act convictions and trials had had on the thinking of the American people about the Communist Party. There is no doubt that, as far as the overwhelming majority of Americans were concerned, these trials had convinced them beyond all reasonable doubt that the Communist Party was a secret, conspiratorial organization, completely un-American in character. For the first time in 7 years, the Communist Party felt that perhaps the climate of opinion had changed enough for it to come out into the open and actually hold a convention. It hoped that by permitting some preselected observers to attend its convention, it would create the impression that it was actually adopting some democratic rules of operation.

The national convention accepted the proposal of the party's National Committee on this point, and 11 so-called observers were admitted to cover the convention. They were a mixed group: radicals, pacifists, some persons with long records of front affiliations; and they included A. J. Muste, who, as J. Edgar Hoover pointed out, "has long fronted for Communists."

It was Muste, a former follower of Stalin's slain Communist foe, Leon Trotsky, who had proposed this move to the party and who had also suggested the names of persons who should be invited as observers.

MR. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully request that the article from which Mr. McNamara has read, a *Daily Worker* article of February 8, 1957, be introduced in the record of this hearing as Committee Exhibit No. 3.

MR. MOULDER. The article referred to by the witness will be marked Committee Exhibit No. 3 and admitted as a part of the record.

(Document marked "Committee Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

MR. NITTLE. Will you proceed, Mr. McNamara?

MR. McNAMARA. After the convention, 8 of these 11 observers did just what the Communist Party wanted them to do. They signed a statement which said, among other things, that the Communist Party convention was "democratically conducted." And then they went on to denounce the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's "inquisition into political opinion," which was allegedly evidenced by the committee's calling Eugene Dennis, who had been the party's general secretary, to testify in a hearing that followed the convention.

One truly independent observer at the convention, however, did not do what the party had hoped. Carl I. Rachlin, an attorney for the New York Civil Liberties Union, testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that the Communist Party's break with Moscow, alleged to have taken place at this convention, was not real and that it was designed to confuse the courts and the people of this country. Various debates and moves taken at the convention to create the impression that the party was adopting democratic principles, he said, were merely tactical and efforts on the part of the party "to get back into the good graces of the American people."

Needless to say, after this happened, non-Communist observers were never permitted to attend a convention again, and the 17th National Convention of the party, held in December 1959, was completely secret; only party members were allowed to attend it.

Mr. NITTLE. What is the main business of the national convention of the Communist Party?

Mr. McNAMARA. The convention has two primary tasks: one, to elect officers of the party, and second, to determine party lines, policies, strategy, tactics.

In preparation for all conventions, tentative or draft resolutions are prepared on various topics and are circulated among the party units. A main political resolution is also drawn up. The party constitution says all this will be done 90 days in advance of the convention, to give party members and units time to examine these proposed policies and analyze them.

The main political resolution, as a rule, is very broad in its scope. It contains the party's analysis of its present condition and situation, factors which provide opportunity for the party and factors which are obstacles to the party's achievement of its goals. It outlines the strategy and tactics the party intends to use in the period immediately ahead to advance the party cause and the cause of world communism. It contains the major propaganda themes the party will use, and it also spells out those areas of emphasis or concentration for the party—where it will devote most of its energy in the fields of agitation, propaganda, recruiting, and so on.

There is no need to go into these draft resolutions in great detail. There are numerous samples of them in Part 4 of the Committee's hearings, held in May 1960, on the Northern California District of the Communist Party.

As I said before, these draft resolutions are distributed among the clubs where, in theory, they are studied, discussed, and analyzed; and suggestions for changes in them are then forwarded to national headquarters by those who have differing viewpoints on the subjects encompassed by the resolutions.

And again, in theory, at the convention, these draft resolutions are discussed, debated, and then adopted as proposed, or with amendments.

Mr. NITTLE. You have spoken of debate at the national convention on the draft resolutions. This sounds as though they were employing, or allowing the employment of, a democratic process. Is this really so?

Mr. McNAMARA. Well, it only sounds democratic. The draft resolutions, of course, are prepared by the party's leaders, who are thus free to determine their content; and as these hearings will develop, evidence will be presented to show the paramilitary nature of the party; its procedures for enforcing monolithic unity, as it is called, in the ranks of the party and thus seeing that convention resolutions and actions express what the leadership wants said and done.

In addition, of course, in the background, there is also Moscow and what it wants. The Kremlin—today Khrushchev—ultimately determines all major convention actions and resolutions.

Mr. NITTLE. You say that Moscow determines the policies and actions adopted and taken at party conventions. Could you give us an example of this?

Mr. McNAMARA. There are many, and some will be introduced in the hearings later on. I will just mention one very briefly—the party's position on the American Negro.

Years ago, in the 1920's, Stalin decided that Negroes in the United States were a separate race or people and that in line with his ideas on the national question, as it was called, they should be a nation apart from the whites in this country; they should secede from the U.S., actually, and a separate Negro republic should be set up in the South in the states where they comprised a majority of the population.

Now, party members in this country found this a very unrealistic and impractical position, obviously a hindrance to their recruiting and propaganda activities among Negroes. The American Negro did not want to secede from the U.S. or to set up a separate nation. He considered himself—and is—just as much an American as any white man.

U.S. party members carried this message to Moscow on numerous occasions over the years, even while they were turning out reams of propaganda to the effect that a separate republic for Negroes had to be set up in the South; but as long as Stalin lived, Moscow would never change its position on this subject. Stalin could not admit that he had been wrong.

Suddenly, however, at the 17th National Convention of the party in 1959, this separate republic idea was officially and formally dropped and the party line cynically switched to the theme of full integration for the Negro. This switch had been telegraphed by a resolution adopted a year earlier by the party's National Committee.

Khrushchev could permit this switch, because he was not admitting an error on his part. This had been Stalin's policy.

Moreover, changing this policy in this way served his aim of discrediting Stalin with the U.S. Communists, because he was ditching, finding wrong, a Stalinist policy. Khrushchev also must have realized that this was a good tactical move.

Mr. NITTLE. Do reversals of policy, such as this, usually take place at party conventions?

Mr. McNAMARA. Normally they do not. This was really quite unusual, to have a complete reversal of the party line. For the most part, there are no drastic or major changes in party policy, strategy, or tactics made at a convention. The conventions tend merely to formalize, give official approval to, tactics, strategy, and policies that have been followed for some time.

The reason for this is that the Communist Party is continually assessing and reassessing its position; and, as conditions change, it shifts. The party is very flexible. It shifts its strategy, tactics, and so forth, to meet changing conditions.

Now, obviously, conditions, national or international, do not change overnight. They don't change within the 2 or 3 days that the party is meeting in convention. And for this reason, there is normally no need for a major change that develops in the course of a convention.

For the most part, as I said before, the convention usually merely formalizes the type of activity that the party has been carrying out for some time in the past. And there is very little radical change of any kind, as the normal thing.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. McNamara, you have told us about the national convention, which is the highest echelon of the Communist Party of the United States. Could you now tell us about the function and make-up of the National Committee?

Mr. McNAMARA. The constitution of the party, Section 9, Article V, states:

Between National Conventions, the National Committee is the highest authority of the Party, representing the Party as a whole, and as such has the authority to make decisions and take actions necessary and incidental to the good and welfare of the entire Party, and to act upon all problems and developments occurring between Conventions.

At present the National Committee has approximately 60 members. *The Worker* of December 20, 1959, reported that at the 17th National Convention of the party, a National Committee of 60 members had been elected, 25 from an at-large voting list, and another 35 from a list nominated by state delegations.

Mr. NITTLE. Was this in accord with the party constitution?

Mr. McNAMARA. No, it was not. Technically, it was a violation of the constitution. The constitution adopted in 1957 states that National Committee members at large shall not "exceed one third of the total membership of the National Committee." The 25 elected at large at the 17th National Convention comprise approximately 42 per cent of the National Committee membership, which violates the constitution.

I have prepared a committee exhibit which lists those persons who, according to committee information, are presently members of the Communist Party's National Committee, broken down into those elected from the at-large list and those elected from the districts.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this exhibit be marked Committee Exhibit No. 4 and introduced in the record of this hearing.

Mr. MOULDER. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Committee Exhibit No. 4" follows:)

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 4

COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A., NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1961

Members at Large

<i>Name</i>	<i>District</i>
1. James S. Allen.....	New York
2. Herbert Aptheker.....	New York
3. Philip Bart.....	New York
4. Erik Bert.....	New York
5. Jesus Colon.....	New York
6. Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.....	New York
7. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.....	New York
8. Simon W. Gerson.....	New York
9. Gus Hall.....	New York
10. Clarence A. Hathaway.....	New York
11. James E. Jackson.....	New York
12. Arnold Johnson.....	New York
13. Geraldine Lightfoot.....	Illinois
14. Hyman Lumer.....	New York
15. Mildred McAdory.....	New York
16. George A. Meyers.....	Maryland-D.C.
17. William L. Patterson.....	New York
18. Pettis Perry.....	So. California
19. Irving Potash.....	New York
20. Danny Queen.....	Illinois
21. Al Richmond.....	No. California
22. Mortimer Daniel Rubin.....	New York
23. Jacob (Jack) Stachel.....	New York
24. William Weinstone.....	New York
25. Helen Allison Winter.....	Michigan
26. Henry Winston.....	New York

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 4—Continued

Members Elected by Districts

NEW YORK

1. William Albertson
2. Michael Crenovich
3. Miriam Friedlander
4. Betty Gannett
5. Paul Robeson, Sr.
6. Nathan Rosenbluth
7. James Formey
8. Louis Weinstock

ILLINOIS

1. Flora Hall
2. Sam Kushner
3. Claude Lightfoot
4. James West

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

1. Benjamin Dobbs
2. Dorothy R. Healey
3. Charlene Mitchell

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

1. Albert Jason Lima
2. Roscoe Proctor
3. Juanita Wheeler

MICHIGAN

1. Thomas DeWitt Dennis, Jr.
2. Carl Winter

OHIO

1. Edward Chaka

OHIO—continued

2. Anthony Krehmarek

NEW JERSEY

Patrick Toohey

EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA AND
DELAWARE

Thomas Nabried

MARYLAND-D.C.

Jacob Green

INDIANA

Emanuel Blum

WISCONSIN

Fred B. Blair

MINNESOTA-DAKOTAS

Sam Davis

OREGON

Norman Haaland

MISSOURI

Morris Childs

NORTHWEST

Burt Nelson

SOUTH

1. Hunter Pitts O'Dell
2. John Stanford

Mr. McNAMARA. I might point out that Henry Winston is a recent addition to the National Committee of the party. He had been serving a prison term, was recently released, and shortly thereafter was named to the party's National Committee.

Although the constitution says that the National Committee "shall meet at least four times a year," it is today operating, as the chart indicates, on a semiannual meeting basis. One meeting of the National Committee was held in January of this year; another in August.

Mr. NITTLE. Are the meetings of the National Committee open to the public?

Mr. McNAMARA. They, too, are completely secret. However, the party does publish, from time to time in its own organs, the major reports made at these meetings by the top-ranking officials of the party. This is so that the rank-and-file members of the party will know the propaganda lines, the type of agitational activity, and so forth, that the party leaders have deemed most important as of the moment. In order to communicate the messages of the leaders of the party to the rank-and-file members, key reports that are presented at the meetings of the National Committee will be published in party organs such as *Political Affairs*.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, C.P., U.S.A.

CONDUCTS AFFAIRS OF PARTY BETWEEN MEETINGS OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE



ELIZABETH FLYNN
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN



GUS HALL
GENERAL SECRETARY



BENJAMIN DAVIS
NATIONAL SECRETARY



CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
VICE CHAIRMAN



PHILIP BART
NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONAL SECRETARY



HYMAN LUMER
NATIONAL EDUCATION SECRETARY



JAMES JACKSON
EDITOR, THE WORKER



IRVING POTASH
NATIONAL LABOR SECRETARY



JACOB STACHEL
NATIONAL PRESS DIRECTOR



HENRY WINSTON
VICE CHAIRMAN



GEORGE MEYERS
CHAIRMAN, MD - D. C. DISTRICT



JAMES WEST
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, ILLINOIS DISTRICT



THOMAS DENNIS JR.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, MICHIGAN DISTRICT



CLARENCE HATHAWAY
CHAIRMAN, NEW YORK DISTRICT



ANTHONY KRCHMAREK
CHAIRMAN, OHIO DISTRICT



ALBERT J. LIMA
CHAIRMAN, NORTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT



CARL WINTER
CHAIRMAN, MICHIGAN DISTRICT



DOROTHY HEALEY
CHAIRMAN, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mr. NITTLE. In the chart of the party structure which you have displayed for us, you next mention in the chain of command the National Executive Committee. How does this fit into the party structure?

Mr. McNAMARA. While the National Committee is the party's highest authority between conventions, it is too large and unwieldy a group to meet frequently. It is for this reason that the party has a smaller National Executive Committee. The party constitution, Article V, Section 7, states:

The National Committee shall name an executive committee and any other officers and committees it deems necessary.

The party's National Executive Committee at present averages 18 to 20 members, each one of whom is also a member of the National Committee. It is scheduled to meet every 2 months. It serves, in effect, as the representative of, or the substitute for, the National Committee between its semiannual meetings.

The Worker of April 30, 1960, reported that at the first meeting of the party's National Committee, held after its 17th National Convention in December 1959, the National Committee had elected a National Executive Committee of 18 members "to direct the work of the Party between full committee meetings."

At this point, I would like to introduce as an exhibit the chart on the easel to my right, which indicates that it contains the photographs of the present members of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that that exhibit be marked Committee Exhibit No. 5 and introduced into the record of this hearing.

Mr. MOULDER. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Committee Exhibit No. 5" appears on opposite page.)

THE NATIONAL BOARD AND SECRETARIAT

Mr. NITTLE. I see next in the chain of command the listing of the National Board of the Communist Party. What is its function and what is its role?

Mr. McNAMARA. Even the National Executive Committee, portrayed on this exhibit, is too large an organization to conduct the day-to-day affairs of the party. Because of this, at the party's last convention, a five-man Secretariat, as it was called, was elected. The Secretariat was scheduled to meet weekly at the party's national headquarters at 23 West 26th Street in New York City. The Secretariat, the one elected at the last convention, was made up of top-level party officials.

The Worker of December 20, 1959, reported that the National Committee had designated the Secretariat elected at that time "to conduct the current work of the Party." The five members of the Secretariat elected were Gus Hall; the late Eugene Dennis; Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.; James E. Jackson; and Hyman Lumer.

The make-up of the Secretariat corresponded closely to that of the party's highest officials. At the end of the 17th National Convention,

the National Committee had elected the following persons as party officers: General Secretary, Gus Hall; Chairman, the late Eugene Dennis; Vice Chairmen, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Claude Lightfoot; and National Secretary, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr. Of these five top officers, three—Hall, Dennis, and Davis—were named to the Secretariat.

Mr. NITTLE. Is this Secretariat still functioning?

Mr. McNAMARA. No. It has been replaced by the party's National Board, which is indicated on the chart and about which you asked a moment ago. The National Board is composed of 10 members and, as the chart indicates, is scheduled to meet weekly at the party's national headquarters in New York City.

I would like to offer for the record at this time an exhibit which lists the members of the party's National Board, those men who are the ruling clique of the party.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that that document be introduced as Committee Exhibit No. 6.

Mr. MOULDER. So ordered.

(Document marked "Committee Exhibit No. 6" follows:)

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 6

NATIONAL BOARD

COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

1961

Gus Hall	General Secretary
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn	National Chairman
Henry Winston	Vice Chairman
Claude Lightfoot	Vice Chairman
Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.	National Secretary
Phil Bart	Organization Secretary
James E. Jackson	Editor, <i>Worker</i>
Hyman Lumer	Education Secretary
Irving Potash	Labor Secretary
Jacob (Jack) Stachel	Press Director, <i>Worker</i>
Clarence Hathaway	(Without Portfolio)

NATIONAL COMMISSIONS

Mr. NITTLE. According to the party organizational chart, Committee Exhibit No. 1, the National Commissions are the next highest units in the party apparatus. Could you tell us briefly what the National Commissions are?

Mr. McNAMARA. These are committees or bureaus set up to guide party activity in special fields. It is their job to work out practical plans and techniques for carrying out the party's programs and promoting its propaganda themes in particular areas. Generally, members of these commissions are party officials or functionaries who specialize in certain types of party action, in trade unions, among nationality groups, youth, and so forth.

Mr. NITTLE. The organizational chart lists the major existing National Commissions of the Communist Party, does it not?

Mr. McNAMARA. Yes.

MR. NITTLE. Could you tell us a word about each one and its function?

MR. MCNAMARA. For the most part, the title of each commission tells what it does. Some of them, however, do need explanation, because their functions are not apparent to the non-Communist from their titles.

The Review, or Control, Commission is one example. It is the first one listed on the chart.

This commission is the party's own secret police force. It is comparable to the MVD of the Soviet Union. It combines the functions of the police, the courts, and a punishment agency. It accuses party members when they violate discipline in any way, it tries them, and it metes out punishment to them. It is a commission or agency, of course, which does not exist in any democratic society or democratic political party.

The Review Commission has also been called the Control Commission. Having charge of the party's security, it is its job to ferret out FBI undercover informants or anybody else in party ranks who may be a threat to party secrecy and the effectiveness of its underground operations.

The International Affairs Commission, as its name indicates, directs party activity in the field of the foreign relations of the United States. Its specialty is our foreign policy, from the Communist viewpoint, of course.

The Organization Commission of the party directs the placement of party functionaries throughout the party apparatus. This, by the way, is something over which the party member has no control. He may or may not want a certain post, but if the party directs it, he takes the post. It may mean breaking up his home, traveling hundreds or thousands of miles, but with the party discipline as it exists, it is the Organization Commission which has the complete control over the party member in this respect.

The Jewish Commission, next listed, as its name indicates, directs party activity within and aimed at Jewish groups in this country.

The Education Commission, the next one listed, supervises and directs all the party's educational work. It is in charge of the party's schools, the textbooks used in those schools, study outlines prepared for them and for party units. It also controls the party's bookstores and all general education work conducted by party units.

The National Groups Commission directs, or is in charge of, all party activity within and aimed at various nationality groups in this country. It also has charge of the party's foreign-language press, those newspapers and magazines which are published in foreign languages to make a special appeal to certain nationality elements within the United States.

The Farm Commission, of course, as its name indicates, directs all party activity in the agricultural field.

The Negro Commission obviously directs the party's activity among Negroes, supervises the preparation of pamphlets and literature aimed at the Negro, and directs activity of all fronts which operate in this area.

The functions of the Youth and Trade Union Commissions, I believe, are obvious from their names, and the same is true of the Women's Commission.

The Defense Commission is in charge of all propaganda and agitational activity undertaken to protect the party, its leaders, members, and agents, from Federal or other prosecution under the laws of this land.

The activities of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, for example, which is the successor to the old Civil Rights Congress, would come under the supervision of the Defense Commission of the party.

The National Assembly for Democratic Rights, held in New York City on September 23 and 24, and the subject of hearings by this committee some weeks ago, was a good example of the type of operation planned and carried out by the party's National Defense Commission.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY CLUB

Mr. NITTLE. I believe that pretty well covers the organizational apparatus on the national level. Would you now give us some information about the lower-level units of the party?

Mr. McNAMARA. In discussing these units, I think it would be best to start with the lowest, rather than the highest, that is, with the Communist Party club. This is the basic unit of the party, the foundation on which it is built.

The party constitution, Article IV, entitled "Structure," Section 1, states:

The Communist Party shall be organized on the basis of clubs. Clubs may be constituted on an electoral sub-division, neighborhood, town, shop or industry basis.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, you have listed various types of clubs. Would you explain the difference between these types of clubs? What is the distinction between a town and a neighborhood club? How does a shop club differ from an industrial club?

Mr. McNAMARA. Well, in a town where the Communist Party did not have great strength—only sufficient members, actually, to make up one effective club—that club will be organized on a town club or town basis, with everyone in the town, no matter what their occupation or profession, belonging to the same club.

In larger cities and towns, where the party has greater strength—sufficient numbers so that it can set up a considerable number of clubs or basic units—you will usually find them organized on a geographical or neighborhood basis.

Here are some examples. These are the names of party clubs that have actually functioned in various cities in the past: The Inwood Club in Manhattan, New York City; the Riverside and Ocean Avenue Clubs in Brooklyn; the West Side Club in Phoenix, Arizona; the North Beach No. 1 Club in San Francisco. All these are examples of clubs operating and organized on a neighborhood basis; they are neighborhood clubs.

Sometimes, in larger cities, you will also find that the party has built a system of clubs which follow the political organization of the city. There the party club structure will be one club for each assembly district, election district, or whatever the local subdivision may be called.

Some examples: The Eleventh A.D., that is, the 11th Assembly District, Club in Brooklyn; the Seventh A.D. and Ninth A.D. Clubs in Manhattan, New York City.

The difference between shop and industry clubs is simply that a shop club is made up of workers in one plant or shop, whereas an industrial club would be composed of workers employed in a number of plants or shops, but all in the same industry.

Some examples of shop clubs that have been organized by the Communist Party are the Singer Club of Elizabeth, New Jersey, which was made up of workers in the Singer Sewing Machine plant in that city; the General Electric Club in Newark, New Jersey, made up of employees of the General Electric plant there. In Chicago the party had organized Armour, Swift, and Wilson & Co. branches, composed of workers in the plants of these three meatpacking firms in that city.

The term "branch" has often been used synonymously for "club" within the ranks of the Communist Party. It, too, designates the basic party unit.

Some examples of clubs which had been organized on an industry basis are the Railroad Club of New Haven, the Seamen's Branch of San Francisco, and also the Metal Trades Club of that same city.

SECTIONS, CITY AND COUNTY UNITS

Mr. NITTLE. Now, will you tell us something of the next most significant party subdivision?

Mr. McNAMARA. It is interesting to note that the party constitution, after discussing the club, jumps over the intervening units which appear on the chart—that is, the section, the city, the county unit—and takes up the state organization. This is Article IV, which says:

The State organization shall comprise all clubs in one State * * *.

The existence of the intervening units on the chart is provided for in these words, which immediately follow those I have just quoted in the constitution. This is referring to the state organization:

and shall have the power and duty to establish all necessary sub-divisions such as county, city, regional or section, organizations.

The creation of sections, city, and county units, in other words, is a matter of discretion with the state organization. These intermediate units are established when it is felt there is a need for them. This will usually be determined by the number of party members in any area, their quantity; but other factors, such as geography, population concentration, also affect the setup of these intermediate units.

Mr. NITTLE. What is a Communist Party section?

Mr. McNAMARA. A section is made up of a number of clubs. They are usually united in a section on a geographical or occupational basis.

The Communist Party has, for example, industrial sections, professional sections, waterfront sections, and also neighborhood sections, such as the South Side Section in St. Louis and the West Side Section in Detroit.

In some cases, as the chart indicates and the constitution provides, city and county organizations are also set up as intervening or intermediate control organizations between the sections and the district or state organization.

DISTRICTS

Mr. NITTLE. Could you tell us now what a Communist Party district is?

Mr. McNAMARA. The party constitution, after discussing the state organization, takes up the district organization. Article IV, Section 3, says:

District organizations may be established by the National Committee. District organizations may cover part of one state, or two or more states. Where a district organization covers two or more states, the State Committees shall be under the jurisdiction of the District Committee.

Mr. NITTLE. How many districts are there in the Communist Party at the present time?

Mr. McNAMARA. We have prepared two exhibits to portray this. One outlines the composition of each one of these districts and also gives the names of the leaders, the Communist Party leaders, in the major districts in this country.

I also have here another exhibit, a map, which I think might be placed on the easel at the present time. This will show that the party has, at the present time, 21 districts in the United States.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that these documents be introduced as Committee Exhibits Nos. 7 and 8, respectively, in the hearing record.

Mr. MOULDER. It is so ordered.

(Documents marked "Committee Exhibits Nos. 7 and 8," respectively. Committee Exhibit No. 7 follows. No. 8 appears opposite p. 584.)

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 7

COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

DISTRICT ORGANIZATION
AND
LEADERS OF MAJOR DISTRICTS

- (1) *New England District*
Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont
- (2) *Connecticut District*
Connecticut
- (3) *New York District*
New York—William L. Patterson, chairman
Louis Weinstock, vice chairman
Betty Gannett
- (4) *Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware District*
Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware—Thomas Nabried, chairman
- (5) *Western Pennsylvania District*
Western Pennsylvania
- (6) *New Jersey District*
New Jersey—Pat Toohey, chairman
- (7) *Maryland-District of Columbia District*
Maryland and District of Columbia—George A. Meyers, chairman

- (8) *Ohio District*
Ohio and panhandle section of West Virginia—
Anthony Krcmarek, chairman
- (9) *Michigan District*
Michigan—Carl Winter, chairman
Thomas Dennis, Jr., executive secretary
- (10) *Indiana District*
Indiana
- (11) *Illinois District*
Davenport and Bettendorf areas of Iowa and the
State of Illinois, exclusive of the East St. Louis
area.
Claude Lightfoot, chairman
James West, executive secretary (in jail)
Sam Kushner, vice chairman
- (12) *Wisconsin District*
Wisconsin—Fred B. Blair, chairman
- (13) *Minnesota-Dakotas District*
Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota—Samuel
K. Davis, secretary
- (14) *Missouri District*
Missouri; East St. Louis, Illinois; and Greater
Kansas City
- (15) *Montana District*
Montana
- (16) *Southern California District*
California, exclusive of counties north of Santa
Barbara and Kern Counties
Dorothy R. Healey, chairman
Ben Dobbs, executive secretary
- (17) *Northern California District*
California, north of Kern and Santa Barbara
Counties
Albert J. ("Mickey") Lima, chairman
- (18) *Northwest District*
Washington, Idaho, and Alaska—Burt Gale Nel-
son, chairman
- (19) *Oregon District*
Oregon—Burt Gale Nelson, chairman
- (20) *Oklahoma-Arkansas District*
Oklahoma and Arkansas
- (21) *Southern Region*
Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi,
North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee,
Virginia, and Texas—exclusive of its 17 western
counties.

NOTE.—For purposes of ready reference, numbers preceding the names of the districts in this exhibit correspond to the numbers on the map (Exhibit No. 8) indicating the district breakdown.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. McNamara, do you have any observations you wish to make about the district organization?

Mr. McNAMARA. In many cases, as can be seen by glancing at the map, the district organization is the same as the state. Examples are: Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Oregon. Each is a district.

Several districts are made up of one state, plus just part of another. The Illinois District, for example, is made up of all of that state (except the city of East St. Louis), plus a part of Iowa, the Davenport and Bettendorf area of Iowa.

The Ohio District is composed of Ohio plus the panhandle section of West Virginia, that little narrow strip that runs up between the western Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio borders.

Some of the districts comprise several states. The New England District, for example, encompasses all the New England States with the exception of Connecticut, which is a separate district.

The Northwest District takes in Washington, Idaho, and Alaska.

The Southern Region is made up of 10 different states.

In one case, we have a state carved up into two districts—California. There would appear to be two major reasons for this. One is the fact that, in number of party members, California ranks second only to New York State; and the other is the geography of the state. California is relatively narrow, but only in proportion to its length of approximately 1,000 miles, which necessitates the state being broken up into two separate districts for effective organizational and control purposes.

In the past, the party has usually referred to its districts by number. Today, however, it refers to them by their geographical names, and they are numbered in these exhibits only for easy reference.

Mr. MOULDER. What are the Southern States referred to, there?

Mr. McNAMARA. The Southern Region includes Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas—exclusive of its 17 western counties, and the State of Virginia.

The Southern Region of the party is indicated by the number “21” on the map.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, Mr. McNamara, you have explained the structure and nature of the party’s organizational apparatus. Could you tell us briefly what the purpose of this rather involved organizational setup is?

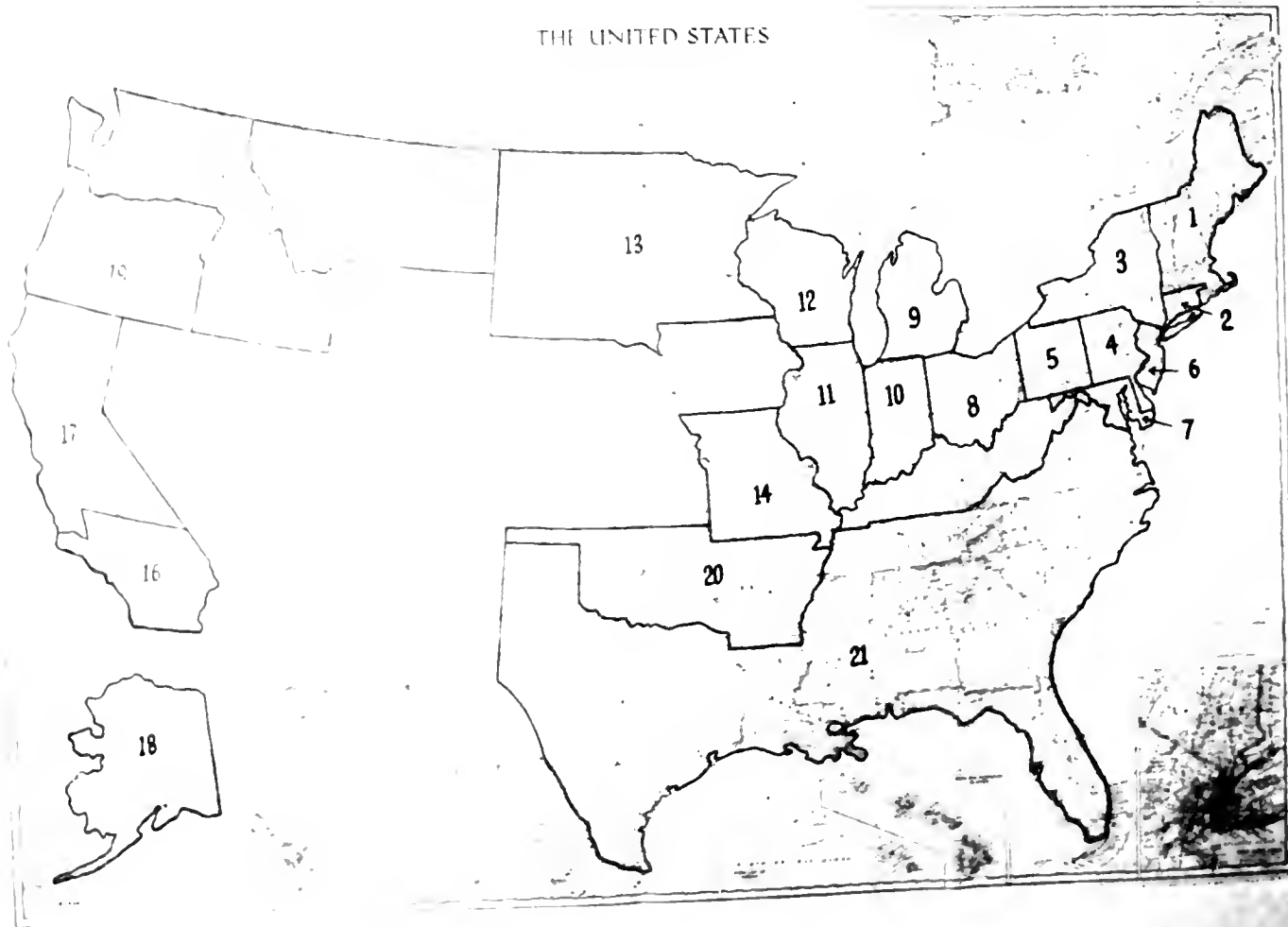
Mr. McNAMARA. Well, basically, the whole purpose of this rather involved structural setup is to provide a means by which the national leaders of the party can direct the activity of all party members along lines dictated by Moscow. It is to insure that decisions made on the national level of the party will be carried out by the party member on the grassroots or neighborhood level of this country.

It can be seen from the chart depicting the party’s structural setup that the party has actually created a large bureaucracy, over the years, in developing this structure. Generally speaking, on each organizational level you will find officials, various officials, of corresponding rank. There is, for example, a national chairman of the party. There is also a chairman for each of the 21 districts in the party, for many of the states, and for city and county units. There are also section chairmen and leaders, of course, in each club.

COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

DISTRICT ORGANIZATIONS

THE UNITED STATES



This same applies to many of the other units in the party, or other posts in the party, rather, such as those of executive secretary, organization secretary, education director, and so on down the line.

I would also point out that the National Commissions in many cases are duplicated on the state or district level, and in some cases in even lower-level units of the party. This means, as I stated before, that the party has created a very large bureaucracy within its ranks.

Mr. NITTLE. Is this organization, as set up on the chart, permanent and unalterable? Are there any changes contemplated in it, or possible?

Mr. McNAMARA. Well, at the present time, there is considerable evidence that the party is not completely happy with this setup and that a major reorganization of the party is now under way. I will mention just a few items which tend to bear this out.

The first one was made public before the party held its last convention in December 1959. An article was published in the November 1959 issue of *Party Affairs*, which is an inner party organ published by the National Committee of the Communist Party and intended for the eyes of Communists only.

The article was entitled "Improve Methods of Party Leadership," and was written by Jack Stachel, presently the party's national press director and a member of its National Executive Committee and also its National Board. Stachel has been a top leader of the party for many years and is one of its "old Bolsheviks."

The article reads in part as follows:

In order to carry out today's Party tasks with our present membership and resources, it is necessary to carry through a policy of concentration in every aspect of our work, to learn how best to utilize our membership, our leading personnel, our finances, etc. It is necessary to simplify the Party organization and apparatus. It is certainly not correct, even in the largest districts, with the present relatively small membership, to have the kind of setup that was appropriate when the membership was many times as large. Very often all the forces are busy manning the gradation of committees and have little time left for mass work. This also leads to delay in transmitting decisions from the Party committees to the membership. Each Party organization should examine this question with the view to simplifying cumbersome apparatus, establishing more direct contact between leadership and membership and the involvement of all the leading personnel in executing as well as making decisions.

I believe there is no doubt that this was a planted article, published in advance of the party convention with the purpose of preparing the party members for certain organizational changes that the party leadership had decided would be made in the party structure.

Mr. NITTLE. What other evidence of party reorganization have you found?

Mr. McNAMARA. On the same lines, a draft resolution on party organization had been prepared in advance of the 17th National Convention. This resolution was circulated among the party units and adopted at the convention, with no more than a few minor changes in wording. It was then published in the March 1960 issue of *Political Affairs*, to impress party members both with its importance and its content.

Also on September 29, 1960, the National Executive Committee of the party met and adopted a number of motions entitled "Some New Aspects of Party Organization."

Now, one of the results of these directives—the Stachel article, the convention resolution, and the National Executive Committee

motion—was seen in *The Worker* of Sunday, December 11, 1960, page 12, in an article which appeared under the headline “State Communists Map Stronger Mass Work.” This article concerned a meeting of the full New York State Committee of the Communist Party, and the opening paragraph reads as follows:

Important steps were taken last week-end to streamline the N.Y. State organization of the Communist Party and also to strengthen its mass work in a number of fields.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask that the National Executive Committee Sept. 29, 1960, document and the Dec. 11, 1960, *Worker* article be introduced as Committee Exhibits Nos. 9 and 10, respectively?

Mr. MOULDER. Without objection Committee Exhibits Nos. 9 and 10, referred to by counsel, will be made a part of the record.

(Documents marked “Committee Exhibits Nos. 9 and 10,” respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. McNamara, what is the significance of these developments?

Mr. McNAMARA. In summary, it can be said that a reorganization of the party has been planned and is being carried out. Study and analysis of these documents reveal that this reorganization consists primarily of eliminating intermediate administrative and control groups in the party, those intervening between the clubs—the basic, lowest-level units—and the district or state organizations.

The purpose here is to get rid of duplication, red tape, and some of the party’s unnecessary bureaucracy, to free the intermediate-level leaders for work with the clubs, the rank-and-file people in the party.

As much as possible, the party wants to increase its contacts between the club members, the club units, and its national, district, and state leaders.

It is also trying to free the clubs from a lot of the administrative detail that has been bogging them down as a result of the creation of these intermediate units and their structural apparatus, and to strip the clubs down for more effective action on the community and local level.

In place of the former sections, the city and county units in the party, it is setting up central bodies, which are being created on the same general level. These bodies, however, instead of being made up of administrators and bureaucrats, are made up of representatives from the clubs.

It is planned to have these groups meet on a regular basis with national party leaders and district-level leaders.

As far as the clubs themselves are concerned, emphasis is being placed upon building up the community clubs, particularly in “working class” neighborhoods.

The party is also emphasizing the creation of shop clubs, rather than industrial clubs. It is trying, largely, to get rid of the industrial club and shift their members to the community or neighborhood club, where the party feels these people can do more effective work, especially in the field of political activity.

It believes that if it concentrates more on reaching the workers in their homes on community and neighborhood problems, it will have a better chance of achieving what has been one of its major objectives

for a considerable number of years now, and that is the creation of a third party in this country.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions of the witness at this moment and respectfully request that he be permitted to step aside while we interrogate another witness, and then it is expected that Mr. McNamara will resume his testimony.

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will stand in recess for approximately 5 minutes.

(At this point there was a short recess.)

Mr. MOULDER. Are you ready to proceed? The committee will be in order.

After conferring with my colleagues on the committee, the Chair announces that the hearings will continue tomorrow and Wednesday and will be held in the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee hearing room in the New House Office Building, Room 1334.

Are you ready to call your next witness?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes. Leon Nelson.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony which you are about to give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. NELSON. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF LEON NELSON, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, MICHAEL B. STANDARD

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Nelson, will you, for the purposes of the record, please state your full name?

Mr. NELSON. Leon Nelson.

Mr. NITTLE. I see that you are represented by counsel.

Mr. NELSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Would counsel kindly identify himself?

Mr. STANDARD. Yes. Michael B. Standard, 25 Broad Street, New York City.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you appearing here today, Mr. Nelson, in response to a subpoena served upon you by the Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. NELSON. Yes, I am.

Mr. NITTLE. Will you tell us where you live?

Mr. NELSON. My address is 2345 East First Street, Brooklyn, New York.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your present occupation?

Mr. NELSON. I must respectfully decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you presently employed by the Communist Party of the United States in any official capacity?

Mr. NELSON. Once again, sir, I must respectfully decline to answer that question, as I stated previously.

Mr. NITTLE. Is it correct to say, Mr. Nelson, that you have been active in the Communist Party of the United States for quite a number of years, and as a functionary in that party?

Mr. NELSON. I must once again, sir, decline, respectfully, to answer that question on the grounds that I stated previously.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you associated with the Young Communist League in New York City in 1937?

Mr. NELSON. I am sorry to continue giving the same answers I gave before, but I must respectfully decline to answer that, too, as I have stated previously.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Nelson, I hand you a reproduction of the cover page and page 41 of the *Year Book* of the Young Communist League of America for the year 1937, and ask you whether you are the Leon Nelson represented here as sending greetings to the League?

Mr. MOULDER. Have the record show that the witness is examining the document referred to by counsel.

Mr. NELSON. I must once again, sir, respectfully decline to answer that question, based on my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. I ask, Mr. Chairman, that the document be introduced into the record as Nelson Exhibit No. 1.

Mr. MOULDER. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Nelson Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. I show you now a reproduction of an article from the *Daily Worker*, dated August 5, 1940, which contains a statement to the effect that in the 1940 New York electoral campaign, a Leon Nelson was a candidate on the Communist Party ticket for the office of Assemblyman from Kings County, New York, Second Assembly District.

Is this a correct report of the fact?

Mr. MOULDER. Let the record show that the witness is examining the newspaper article referred to by counsel.

Mr. NELSON. Once more I respectfully decline to answer the question, based on my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the *Daily Worker* just referred to be introduced in the record of these hearings as Nelson Exhibit No. 2.

Mr. MOULDER. That part of the *Daily Worker* referred to, you mean?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, that part of the paper to which I referred.

Mr. MOULDER. Without objection, it will be admitted.

(Document marked "Nelson Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Nelson, the *Daily Worker* of July 18, 1947, identified you as an organizer for the Williamsburg Section of the Communist Party in Brooklyn, New York. I hand you a reproduction of this article in the *Daily Worker* and ask whether you, in fact, served in that capacity.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. MOULDER. Let the record show that counsel handed the document referred to, to the witness and the witness examined the document.

Mr. NELSON. Once more, sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the document referred to be introduced in the record as Nelson Exhibit No. 3.

Mr. MOULDER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Nelson Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. On May 6, 1955, the committee received sworn testimony from Mildred Blauvelt. Mrs. Blauvelt in 1950 was an under-

cover agent, working within the Communist Party on behalf of the New York City Police Department. She testified that she knew you to be functioning in the year 1950 as labor director of the Brooklyn Communist Party. Was she correct in her testimony?

Mr. NELSON. Based upon my privileges of the fifth amendment, I must respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. MOULDER. May I interrupt by saying at this time that quite often witnesses who have been named by other people appearing before this committee as members of the Communist Party, have complained that they never have had the opportunity to refute or deny the identification.

You are now being given the opportunity to deny the statement made by counsel to the effect that another witness said you were a member of the Communist Party. Do you care to deny that at this time?

Mr. NELSON. I once again, sir, will answer the way I have answered previously and I assert my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Nelson, in the course of your long service in the Communist Party, in a functionary capacity, did you not attain the position of participating in the top councils of the national party organization?

Mr. NELSON. I must once again assert my privileges under the fifth amendment not to answer that question, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you, as of June 1956, the organizational secretary of the New York State party organization?

Mr. NELSON. Again, sir, I assert my privileges under the fifth amendment and respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. NITTLE. Is not the New York State Communist Party organization the largest of all of the party organizations in the various state and district subdivisions of the national party apparatus?

Mr. NELSON. I cannot answer that question, sir, based upon my privileges under the fifth amendment and I respectfully decline to answer that.

Mr. NITTLE. I now show you a reproduction of an article that appeared in the *Daily Worker* under date of June 29, 1956. This article reported that a regular meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States had been held on June 22, 23, and 24, 1956, at the national offices of the party in New York City. The *Daily Worker* account states, and I quote:

The third day was devoted to an examination of party organization questions. A report was given by Leon Nelson, New York state organizational secretary, dealing with problems of party organization in New York. * * * The report of Nelson will be published shortly in the party's national discussion bulletin.

Are you the Leon Nelson referred to in that article?

Mr. NELSON. Once again, sir, I must respectfully decline to answer that question, asserting my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the *Daily Worker* article referred to be introduced as Nelson Exhibit No. 4 and made a part of the printed record.

Mr. MOULDER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Nelson Exhibit No. 4." See Appendix, pp. 713, 714.)

Mr. NITTLE. As a participant in the deliberations of the National Committee of the Communist Party, as organizational secretary of

the important New York State party organization, you were aware, were you not, of the fierce struggles within the party at that time over the proper role of the party and the validity of its organizational principles?

Mr. NELSON. Once more, sir, I refuse to answer that question, asserting my privileges under the fifth amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. NITTLE. The article refers to a discussion, on the second day, of a draft statement on questions relating to the special report of Khrushchev. The article states:

After considerable discussion, a committee was elected to edit the draft and incorporate suggestions made at the meeting.

Do you recollect the discussions relating to the report of Khrushchev?

Mr. NELSON. Once more, sir, I must decline to answer that question, asserting my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Did not the discussion relate to the issue whether the party organization in the United States would follow the leadership of Khrushchev in the Soviet Union?

Mr. NELSON. Is that a question? I didn't get that.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you repeat the question?

(The pending question was read by the reporter.)

Mr. NELSON. Once again my answer would be the same as I have given to the previous question, asserting my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Nelson, you were yourself deeply involved in this internal party conflict which was created by Khrushchev's de-Stalinization speech before the 20th Soviet Communist Party Congress in February of 1956, were you not?

Mr. NELSON. I must respectfully decline to answer that question as well, asserting my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, in your report to the National Committee of the Communist Party in June of 1956, did you not declare that there was a need for an agonizing reappraisal of the party's work? Did you not also state that it was your opinion that the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party and the revelations regarding Stalin sharply aggravated a bad situation and—I am quoting your article—“added a moral crisis in the Party”?

Mr. NELSON. Is that the close of the question?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. I once more respectfully decline to answer that question, asserting my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a reproduction of an article which appeared in *Party Voice*, a bulletin of the New York State party organization intended only for Communists, under date of July 1956, pages 3 to 8 inclusive.

Mr. MOULDER. Have the record show that the document was handed to the witness.

Mr. NITTLE. The article is headed, “The Status of Our Party,” and there is an editorial note which explains that the article actually represents excerpts from a “report by the State organizational secretary on the New York State organization, given to the National Committee.” Would you look over this document and confirm whether or not this accurately represents a part of your remarks

delivered before the National Committee of the Communist Party on June 24, 1956?

Mr. NELSON. Asserting my privileges under the fifth amendment, sir, I must respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the document be marked Nelson Exhibit No. 5 and made a part of the printed record of the hearings.

Mr. MOULDER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Nelson Exhibit No. 5." See Appendix, pp. 715-724.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Nelson, your report expresses concern over past losses in the Communist Party membership and the need "to anchor our membership in the trade union and the mass movement" in the United States. In the language you used and to which I have just referred, your motives in preparing this report were those of a loyal Communist interested in building the strength of the party in this country and its influence among non-Communists, were they not?

Mr. NELSON. I respectfully decline to answer that question as well, as I have stated to the previous question, asserting my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. This article further indicates that you appeared to offer a number of criticisms of the existing Communist Party practices and you make a number of suggested changes. I would like to call your attention to a number of statements which were contained in your report to the National Committee of the Communist Party. You posed these questions in your report:

- a. Is it correct and do we need a monolithic Party today?
- b. Should our Party affairs be governed by democratic centralism?

And you say further:

I believe these are valid and legitimate questions for examination.

Now, would you tell us what "monolithic Party" and "democratic centralism" signify in terms of actual party practices?

Mr. NELSON. I assert my privilege under the fifth amendment, sir, to respectfully not answer that question.

Mr. NITTLE. Of course, in your report to the National Committee, which appears to be incorporated in the article previously referred to as the report of the State organizational secretary, in which capacity you served at that time, you seem to have answered your own questions, the questions you raised and which I just quoted, by declaring that in your judgment, such concepts were "not synonymous with democratic form." You also declared that the concepts for building an American Marxist Communist Party were taken "lock, stock and barrel" from Lenin.

Would you amplify these statements for the benefit of the committee?

Mr. NELSON. I must decline to answer that question, sir, asserting my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. In this article, you complain to the National Committee that, and I quote again from that article:

Monolithic structure for a party organization clashes with democratic practices. For example, when a higher body concludes on some question of policy and then prepares to discuss such a policy with a lower body, the principle objective must be that through such discussions such policy questions would be either enriched,

modified or changed. But this has not been the practice of relationships of higher bodies to lower bodies in the Party.

You, in fact, were objecting, were you not, to the authoritarian nature of the party as you have known it?

Mr. NELSON. Once more, I decline to answer that question, sir, asserting my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. You suggest further in this article that the party—meaning the Communist Party—begin “living by our adopted constitution,” which you also admit requires revision, “to provide greater guarantees for democratic practices in our Party.”

You then state—and I quote again from your article—“We did not abide by the Constitution.”

May I interpolate; you are referring there to the constitution of the Communist Party, and not to the Constitution of the United States, is that right?

Mr. NELSON. Is that a question, sir?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. Your question is assuming that he made the statement, and I think that it should be preceded by asking if he made the statements which you have read.

Mr. NITTLE. The witness has pleaded the fifth amendment to questions relating to his authorship of this statement. I will conclude the statement, if the chairman pleases. I quote from the article:

We did not abide by the Constitution in the impermissible way in which the membership dues a few years ago were increased in the most unilateral, autocratic method, or the way people are put into posts and never elected by the membership, and a hundred and one other instances of lack of democratic procedure in our Party.

Mr. Nelson, the question is: Would you provide the committee with “other instances” which demonstrated the autocratic nature of the party organization?

Mr. NELSON. Once more, sir, I assert my privileges under the fifth amendment to decline to answer that question.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, in this article, among the mistakes—and “mistakes” is your quote—which you attribute to the party in the past is the fact, regarding which you undoubtedly had personal knowledge, that “Many, many hundreds were expelled unjustly, thereby also weakening confidence of thousands who remained in the Party.”

Now, would you give us an illustration of this unjust expulsion procedure to which you referred?

Mr. NELSON. My answer would be the same as I have given to the previous question, that is, I respectfully decline to answer, asserting my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Further, you advocated to the National Committee, did you not, changes in the form and structure of the party to make it a “democratic” organization?

Mr. NELSON. My answer would be the same as I have given to the previous question, asserting my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. You also proposed, did you not, that the Communist Party in this country—and I quote again from your article—“cast off to positions of greater independence of policy and public expression from positions we have held in the past in regard to our relationship to the Soviet Union and other lands of Socialism.”

The “new position,” which you urged, “should be along the lines of those expressed first by the *Daily Worker*.”

You also claimed, did you not, that "This can go a long way towards destroying the false charge of 'foreign agents' hurled at our Party since its very inception."

Did you not advocate those changes?

Mr. NELSON. Sir, I must once again respectfully decline to answer that question, asserting my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, since you made this report of June 1956, you are well aware, are you not, that the *Daily Worker's* position, which you defended, has since been repudiated by the Communist leadership as revisionist or, in the Communist Party jargon, as "right deviationist" and that the editor of the *Daily Worker*, John Gates, who advocated this position which you seem to advocate, resigned his position as editor of the *Daily Worker* in January of 1958 and quit the Communist movement in disgust. Is that not correct?

Mr. NELSON. I didn't get the question that was directed at me. That is a general statement. Could you repeat the question and I will try to answer?

Mr. NITTLE. Let me rephrase it this way: You are aware that the position which you advocated, was the position which John Gates advocated at that time?

Mr. NELSON. I must respectfully, once again, refuse to answer that question based upon my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. As a matter of fact, Mr. Nelson, were you not aware, at the time you made your argument in favor of a more democratic arrangement within the Communist Party, that your position was contrary to party ideology as laid down by Lenin and other Communist theorists?

Mr. NELSON. I once again decline to answer that question on the same grounds as stated previously.

Mr. NITTLE. Would it not be correct to refer to your position, which seeks to introduce democratic debate and discussion on party policy within the ranks, as "opportunism" in Communist Party jargon?

Mr. NELSON. Once again, I decline to answer that question on the same grounds as stated on the previous question.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you aware that Lenin, in his article, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," referred to the position which you advocate, namely, a diffuse and loose party organization, as the position of "opportunists"; that the advocacy of a position of "proceeding from below," rather than taking orders from the top, was described by him as an expression of the "mentality of the bourgeois intellectual"?¹

Were you being influenced by your democratic environment in the United States, in making your suggestions to the party that it deviate from what appeared to be Leninist policy?

Mr. NELSON. Once again I decline to answer that question on the same grounds as stated previously.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you now aware that in the manifesto of 81 Communist parties, which was issued in December 1960 at Moscow, there is a direction that the party will not tolerate what Lenin referred to as opportunism? The manifesto contains this statement:

Revisionism, right-wing opportunism, which mirrors the bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, distorts Marxism-Leninism, emasculates its revolutionary essence * * *.

¹HCUA, *Facts on Communism*, Vol. 1, p. 78 (Dec. 1959), House Doc. 336, 86th Cong.

Are you aware of this position on the subject taken by the World Communist Movement under Moscow's leadership?

Mr. NELSON. I must decline to answer that question and assert my privileges as I stated before.

Mr. NITTLE. You were in attendance at the party's 16th National Convention, which was held in New York City, February 9 to 12, 1957, were you not?

Mr. NELSON. I must once again decline to answer that question, sir, on the same grounds as stated previously.

Mr. NITTLE. Is it correct to say that that convention was stalemated between various factions and that the party did not settle down until the following year of 1958, when the power struggle was won by those who opposed your particular view?

Mr. NELSON. Was that a question?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. I did not realize it was a question. I am sorry. Could I have it repeated, please?

(The pending question was read by the reporter.)

Mr. NELSON. I am sorry, but once more I must decline to answer that question, asserting my privileges, as I have stated before.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, you are no longer organizational secretary of the New York State party organization; is that correct?

Mr. NELSON. I cannot answer that question, asserting my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Was not, in fact, your position taken over by George Walsh Watt in an election which was announced in the *Daily Worker* of June 7, 1957?

Mr. NELSON. I must refuse to answer that question, sir, asserting my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. In this same election, New York State party chairman, George Blake Charney, was demoted to vice chairman, and Benjamin J. Davis was installed as the new chairman of this important New York State party organization. Is that not correct?

Mr. NELSON. Once again, I assert my privilege not to answer that question on the basis as I stated before.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, the report in the *Daily Worker*, Friday, June 7, 1957, further states that there were no opposing candidates and all officers were elected by acclamation.

Did you offer yourself as a candidate in that election?

Mr. NELSON. I must once again decline to answer that question, sir, asserting my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Why didn't you offer yourself as a candidate in that election for organizational secretary, the position you had held up to that point?

Mr. NELSON. My answer is the same to that as I gave to the previous question.

Mr. NITTLE. Was your candidacy not recognized, in fact, because of the report to the National Committee that you rendered in June of 1956?

Mr. NELSON. I decline to answer that question, sir, asserting my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us just how the Communist Party conducted that election?

Mr. NELSON. My answer is the same as I have given to the previous question.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you disciplined in any way or censured by the party because of the apparent "opportunist" views of party organization taken by you?

Mr. NELSON. My answer is the same as to the previous question, asserting my privilege under the fifth amendment, and I decline to answer.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you completely stripped of all functionary positions in the Communist Party because of your effort to introduce more democratic procedures into it?

Mr. NELSON. Once more I assert my privilege not to answer any questions, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Benjamin Davis, who was installed as chairman in that 1957 election, was a very vigorous advocate, along with William Z. Foster, of a tightly disciplined, monolithic party organization, subservient and obedient to the Soviet Communist Party, was he not?

Mr. NELSON. I cannot answer that question, sir, asserting my privileges, as I have stated previously.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the *Daily Worker* article of Friday, June 7, 1957, be marked Nelson Exhibit No. 6 and made a part of the printed record.

Mr. MOULDER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Nelson Exhibit No. 6." See Appendix, pp. 725, 726.)

Mr. NITTLE. Now, according to the *New York Times* report of March 8, 1958, George Blake Charney, whose public statements on the need for party reform are similar to your own, and other officers resigned their posts in the New York State organization of the party, in protest against the pro-Soviet line adopted by the National Committee in February of 1958 and subsequently endorsed by the New York State organization under Benjamin Davis' leadership. That is the report of the *New York Times*.

Do you agree with that report?

Mr. NELSON. Once again, I decline to answer that question, sir, asserting my privileges as I stated previously.

Mr. NITTLE. *The Worker* of Sunday, March 9, 1958, also carried a report relating to the subject matter of the previous question and contained the statement that three administrative officers of the state committee submitted their resignations from the state staff and executive board: George Blake Charney relinquished his post as executive secretary; George Watt, as organization secretary; and William Lawrence, as treasurer. It refers then to a joint statement, read by Charney, who declared that their fundamental differences with the policy direction of the national and state committees, and their belief that these bodies had reversed the decisions of last year's national convention, made it impossible for them to function effectively as state officers.

Is that a correct report?

Mr. NELSON. I must once again decline to answer that question, sir, asserting my privileges as I have stated previously.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the items referred to in the *New York Times* and *The Worker* be marked Nelson Exhibits Nos. 7 and 8, respectively, and made a part of the printed record.

Mr. MOULDER. The documents referred to by counsel will be admitted as part of the record.

(Documents marked "Nelson Exhibits Nos. 7 and 8," respectively. See Appendix, pp. 727 and 728, 729.)

Mr. NITTLE. Are you presently a member of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. NELSON. I must decline to answer that question, too, asserting my privileges as I have stated previously.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you regard the present organization of the Communist Party, to borrow your expressions, as autocratic, monolithic, and pro-Soviet?

Mr. NELSON. I decline to answer that question as well, sir, on the same grounds as stated previously.

Mr. NITTLE. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness has not answered any questions except as to his name.

I want to ask you one question. Do you approve of the resumption of the nuclear testing which Khrushchev has been conducting in the Soviet Union?

Mr. NELSON. I would like to consult my counsel for that.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. NELSON. I must decline to answer that question as well, sir, asserting my privileges.

Mr. MOULDER. Are there any questions?

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Nelson, at this moment, are you under the discipline of the Communist Party?

Mr. NELSON. I respectfully decline to answer that question, sir, asserting my privileges.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is excused.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to have Mr. McNamara resume his testimony.

Mr. MOULDER. The record will show Mr. McNamara recalled.

TESTIMONY OF FRANCIS J. McNAMARA—Resumed

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. McNamara, you have described the structural framework of the Communist Party of the United States. Will you now explain how the party actually operates on the basis of this organizational structure?

Mr. McNAMARA. Yes.

Anyone who looks no deeper into the party than the constitution, which has been introduced as an exhibit in these hearings, and the organizational structure, which has been portrayed in charts introduced in the hearings, might be inclined to accept the party's claim that it is simply another legitimate, democratic, political organization functioning in the United States. However, if we stop to consider the fact that the apparatus portrayed in these exhibits is actually copied from the party organization established by Lenin before his successful overthrow of the democratic regime in Russia in 1917, then it immediately becomes apparent that the party is anything but an American democratic political group.

Mr. NITTLE. What are the basic features of this Lenin type of organization?

Mr. McNAMARA. First of all, I would point out that this structure, which has been portrayed in the exhibits, is primarily a secret or underground apparatus. The identity of the membership and all but a

small part of the leadership of the Communist Party has always been concealed by the party. This secrecy, of course, is obviously necessary to a conspiratorial organization which is seeking the overthrow of lawfully constituted government by unconstitutional means.

Just for comparison: Anyone could call any newspaper in this country today and ask for the leadership of the Republican Party or the Democratic Party, or you could call the parties themselves, and you would have no trouble in getting the names of all of the leaders and the party setup. However, you cannot call the Communist Party and obtain the information that has already been introduced in this hearing on its organizational setup, its leadership, the members of the National Committee or the National Executive Committee and the National Board, and the names of its district leaders, and so on. To state it truthfully, for the most part, these names have been introduced in these hearings only through breaches in party security. It takes investigation and digging and leaks in the party's ranks to obtain much of this information.

Now, bearing in mind the basic distinction between an open and legitimate party seeking to obtain certain objectives through constitutional processes and a secret and conspiratorial force with revolutionary aims, one can better understand the Communist Party and how it operates as a paramilitary organization.

Mr. NITTLE. Can you illustrate that?

Mr. McNAMARA. This can be illustrated, and I will do so, by statements made by Communist Party members themselves. By way of background, before introducing these statements, however, I would like to point out that Khrushchev's attack on Stalin in 1956, at the 20th Soviet Party Congress, had a shock effect on the Communist Party in this country.

Mr. NITTLE. You have reference to Khrushchev's revelations at the 20th Soviet Communist Party Congress in February of that year?

Mr. McNAMARA. Yes. Khrushchev at this time was making his bid for the power, the complete power, that Stalin had maintained over the Soviet Union and the entire World Communist Movement. By attacking Stalin, he created consternation in many Communist parties. He condemned the policies and practices of the man whom Communists throughout the world had followed unquestioningly for approximately 30 years. It is apparent that Khrushchev could not have foreseen all of the consequences of his de-Stalinization speech, in which he denounced his predecessor as an egotistical, brutal tyrant, guilty of the murder of thousands of innocent Russians—Communists as well as non-Communists.

One of the effects of his speech was that in the Communist parties throughout the world there were defections of many members; in some cases, other party members and leaders called for the creation of independent national Communist parties; and still others, taking their cue from Khrushchev himself, simply apologized for the past mistakes and supported Khrushchev, the new Czar in the Kremlin.

By 1957, Khrushchev had attained supreme power in the Soviet Union and, during that year, sought to repair the damage that he himself had done to the Soviet party's control, its authority and leadership, over parties in all other nations of the world. As will be demonstrated later in these hearings, this included intervention

in the affairs of the United States Communist Party and, as a result of it, abject compliance with his orders by United States Communists.

For a short period, however, U.S. Communists with ideas of a new independence of Soviet leadership, as well as Communists who opposed any such change, spoke their minds with amazing frankness, in violation of all security procedures, in the Communist journals of this country. In doing so, they created a devastating indictment of the party. Today they would like to erase the statements they made from the record, I am sure, because, for the most part, the people who made them have capitulated to the Kremlin. They have subjected themselves, in spite of their disagreement with what was being done, to the will of Moscow. Today I am sure that they wish that some of the things they said had never been said, or at least had never been made a matter of public record.

Mr. NITTLE. John Gates, formerly editor of the *Daily Worker*, played a prominent role in this controversy, did he not?

Mr. MCNAMARA. Yes, and as editor in chief of the *Daily Worker*, he allowed the pages of this principal and official organ of the United States Communist Party to reflect many innerparty developments, discussions, and disagreements with a candor that had not been seen in the American Communist movement since the 1920's. As previously pointed out, he resigned from *The Worker* and the Communist Party in January of 1958.

To illustrate the frankness of the Communist statements made during this period, I would like to quote one by John Gates himself in the Communist magazine *Political Affairs*, issue of November 1956, in an article entitled "Time for a Change." In this article, Gates made the following statement:

We are not a political party as the American people understand it. Political parties in America are electoral organizations primarily. We must admit we are not that today if we are honest with ourselves.

This was the statement of a man who had, for a good many years, been editor of the party's official organ.

Then there was another Communist, identified only as "Gene P.," who made the following statement on page 10 of the October 1956 issue of *Party Voice*, which states on its cover that it is "A publication"—I am sorry—"A Bulletin Issued by the N.Y. State Communist Party." He said—

the idea of a Party is not a true description of our role past or present and will probably not be true in the future. In this country a political party engages in electoral struggles in the main. We have participated in the electoral scene to a negligible extent. We are not primarily an electoral organization and often when we chose to enter the political lists we did so under euphemisms: People's Party, etc. Our electoral intentions differ considerably from those of most political parties. To most Americans the title Party has a definite meaning. To us it has not had that meaning.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the party documents be introduced as Committee Exhibits Nos. 11 and 12, respectively, and filed in the committee records.

Mr. TUCK (presiding). Unless there is objection, and the Chair hears none, it is so ordered.

(Documents marked "Committee Exhibits Nos. 11 and 12," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Would you, based upon the evidence supplied by the Communists themselves, show us by which organizational principle the Communist Party operates?

Mr. McNAMARA. As I stated before, the Communist Party in this country is patterned on Lenin's party organization which was set up in prerevolutionary Russia. This fact was actually a source of complaint in the Communist press during the period I have referred to. One Communist named Don Amer, writing in *Party Voice* for November 1956, observed that, "Our party has based itself on the same model for 37 years" and that "a party based on a model Lenin developed for that revolutionary situation is incorrect for us."

Another Communist, writing in *Party Voice* for June of 1956 under the initials "B. S.," noted that Lenin's rules for a Communist Party organization had a "war-military character."

John Gates in his article in *Political Affairs*, in November of 1956, which I have just quoted from, denounced the Communist Party organization as a "semi-military type of organization," and for doing so he was roundly denounced by the late William Z. Foster, the party's national chairman for many years, who was an unwavering supporter of the Lenin type of party.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I request that the Don Amer statement in the *Party Voice* publication dated November 1956 be designated Committee Exhibit No. 13 and filed as a part of the record.

Mr. TUCK. Unless there is objection, and the Chair hears none, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Committee Exhibit No. 13" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Then, Mr. McNamara, it appears that the Communist Party's plethora of regional and local subdivisions are chiefly channels or chains of command from the top. Is that correct?

Mr. McNAMARA. That is true. All of these organizational units which are portrayed in the charts, which depict its overall setup, might be compared to the various chains of command in a military organization, an army. You would have your comparable division, and also regimental, battalion, company, and so forth, headquarters. The difference is that the Communist Party is not purely a military organization, but rather a paramilitary organization, established to conduct class warfare, rather than warfare on purely military lines.

There are two basic Communist party principles that enable the party to enforce this chain of command right from the top down to the lowest level. They are referred to or known as "democratic centralism" and "monolithic unity."

Communist propaganda, for the benefit of non-Communists, claims that democratic centralism actually enables party members to decide policy, through the media of the various party subdivisions below the national level; that members are bound by decisions which emanate from above but this is, nevertheless, a truly democratic process because the decisions are all based on majority views that have actually flowed up from the lower ranking members of the party.

Actually, however, democratic centralism, as practiced in the Soviet Union and in the Communist Party of the United States, has meant only a one-way channel of command, emanating from the top of the Communist Party hierarchy, the National Executive Committee and the National Committee, and based on decisions reached by them

with rare consultation with lower-level functionaries in the party, and much less with the mass membership or rank-and-file members. All party members are required to adhere to the decisions made by the top-level national leaders. They are also required to suppress any dissenting views, according to the equally important principle of monolithic unity.

There is no question about the fact that these principles, this insistence that the entire party membership always pursue identical policies and propaganda lines, increase the effectiveness of the party organization. However, to enforce this undemocratic method of operation, a rigid disciplinary mechanism operates within the party. This is the National Review Commission, which I referred to before in explaining the organizational setup of the party. Review commissions operate on a state as well as a national level, and party members are kept in line by the threat of disciplinary action conducted by this organization, such as removal from party office, public censure, or expulsion from the party itself.

Mr. NITTLE. The Communist Party, then, has no use in its own organization for the democratic processes which its propaganda pretends to champion?

Mr. McNAMARA. We know it hasn't, and this has been stated on a considerable number of occasions by Communist Party members themselves, particularly during this period that I referred to earlier, of 1956 and 1957.

One Communist writing in *Party Voice* of June 1956, under the name of "Robert Mann," in an article entitled "Toward An American Form," described this basic conflict between what the party preaches and what it actually practices. Mann said he had joined the party in his late teens, at the height of the depression of the 1930's. Then he made this statement:

But, although I had had no long experience in other organizations, trade union or otherwise, I quickly came to recognize a disparity between the methods of work, either already existing or fought for by Communists and others in organizations and unions and in the party organization itself.

In the unemployed organization to which I belonged, I insisted on elections, minutes, motions, decisions, check-up, majority rule and parliamentary process. In my club, I became increasingly conscious of the absence of all this, but decided—not uniquely, no doubt—that it didn't matter because all Communists were of a single mind, anyhow, and it was a waste of time to bother with forms when we shared the higher democracy of common purpose.

Then he asked this question:

But what was at the root of these methods?

And he provide the answer:

I think the answer lies here. We swallowed whole the concept of a tightly disciplined, "chain-of-command" type of organization, adopted from abroad.

That means, no doubt, from the Soviet Union.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this article from *Party Voice* of June 1956 be introduced as Committee Exhibit No. 14 and made a part of the printed record.

Mr. TUCK. Unless there is objection, and the Chair hears none, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Committee Exhibit No. 14." See Appendix pp. 730-734.)

Mr. NITTLE. Then it appears that the chief voice of the Communist Party's membership as it relates to the formation of party policy is limited to their participation in the election of party officers?

Mr. McNAMARA. That is true, but even here the party's practices differ from its stated policy. Democratic centralism, as defined in the Soviet constitution, allegedly included the election of all leading party bodies from the highest to the lowest. This is the only "democratic" element in the concept. Khrushchev's revelations in 1956 regarding Stalin's brutal tyranny over the Soviet Communist Party members, as well as over the vast body of non-Communist Soviet citizens, however, confirmed that this Soviet constitutional proviso was a dead letter in that country and nothing but a sham.

Similarly, the constitution of the United States Communist Party, which for many years frankly expressed the party's adherence to the principle of democratic centralism, also always specifically provided that—and I am quoting what it said:

Every member of the Party who is in good standing has the right to participate in the making of its policies and in the election of its leading committees, officers and delegates.

That is in Article VI, Section 1.

Again, Article VI, Section 2, states:

All decisions of any club, committee or convention are made by a majority vote after thorough discussion * * *.

Finally Article IV, Section 1, provides:

The officers and executive committees of the clubs shall be elected by the membership by secret ballot annually.

The United States party's constitution, like the Soviet, proclaimed democratic principles, the right of rank-and-file party members to take part in all important decisions, in the election of all officers.

Mr. NITTLE. What is the actual practice of the Communist Party with respect to the election of its leaders?

Mr. McNAMARA. In answer to that question, I will quote a party member, writing under the initial "K" in the September 1956 issue of *Party Voice*. In an article entitled "Gaps Between Leaders and Members," this is what he said:

In my nine years in the Party I have never participated in, nor witnessed, a secret ballot election of leaders, either to club positions, or other posts of responsibility, although Article VI, Section 1 of the Party Constitution clearly states this as a RIGHT of membership. I have questioned many oldtimers as well as new members regarding this. Invariably they express amazement that this section exists at all. * * *

Not too long ago membership dues were increased. Resistance to this was widespread. Here again directives were *issued* to the cadre on lower levels. The question was placed in such a way that to object became tantamount to disloyalty to the Party. If this type of thing had occurred in our Union we would not have hesitated to raise questions of constitution, and properly so. How are we to justify this to non-Party people, let alone Party members? Surely this absence of a constitution in practice could hardly persuade them of the democratic character of our Party.

There is another example: The entire membership of a Brooklyn club of the Communist Party protested to *Party Voice*, and this is found in the issue of October of 1956, about the "insufficient membership participation in the determination and continuous evaluation of policy and tactics."

Among the six specific faults found with the party's operation and organization was the fact that:

The top leadership has enjoyed an almost unlimited tenure in office having never been exposed to the healthful process of election.

Perhaps the most graphic description of how the party organization actually functions has been provided by a Flatbush club of the party in Brooklyn, New York, whose resolution, complaining about its being in the "untenable situation of proclaiming one set of principles and living another," was published in the January 1957 issue of *Party Voice*. Here is what the club's resolution revealed with respect to the party's actual operations:

We were in principle a party always in close contact with the people, collective in our way of work, monolithic and at the same time democratic in its operation, constantly checking and improving itself through criticism and self-criticism. In practice there was an almost total denial of the right, let alone the necessity, of criticism from below. Any attempts at such criticism, or expression of differences with a proclamation, formulation of program, was almost always looked upon with suspicion, or denounced as anti-Party activity, factionalism, or, at the very best, immaturity. Programs, tactics, policies, theoretical formulations, tended to flow from the top down, with every obstacle and discouragement placed in the way of any movement in the opposite direction. The Party took on an almost military character, with stimulating club discussions and collective activities replaced by orders, mobilizations and directives. A group of little functionaries was encouraged to develop whose actual activity was that of "errand boys" and message carriers from higher bodies to lower, and who shuddered at any independent thinking from below. The leadership was supposed to be chosen by, and responsible to, the members, and close to them. In practice, election became a mere formality. Leaders were appointed, co-opted, announced to the membership, with discussion of their qualifications limited to closed committees. The leaders were generally known to the members only through occasional articles or public speeches. Lower leaders were appointed to Party organizations of mass organizations, shifted from post to post, from community to community, from task to task, without any discussion with the people involved.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the three articles to which Mr. McNamara referred, be introduced as Committee Exhibits Nos. 15, 16, and 17, respectively, and that Exhibits 16 and 17 be made a part of the printed record of these hearings.

Mr. TUCK. Unless there is objection, and the Chair hears none, it is so ordered.

Mr. BRUCE. Those are all party publications, are they?

Mr. McNAMARA. Yes, sir.

(Documents marked "Committee Exhibits Nos. 15, 16, and 17," respectively. Exhibit No. 15 retained in committee files. See Appendix pp. 735-739 for Exhibit 16 and pp. 740, 741 for Exhibit No. 17.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. McNamara, do the national conventions of the Communist Party provide for any membership participation in the formulation of party policy and the selection of its leadership?

Mr. McNAMARA. They provide just about as much as the rubber-stamp Soviet congresses presided over by Stalin and his successor, Khrushchev. The 16th National Convention of the United States Communist Party is a good example. It was held in February 1957, at the height of the dispute among Communist leaders over the proper role or course for the party in view of Khrushchev's denunciation of many of Stalin's past policies and actions.

Now, implicit in Khrushchev's denunciation, of course, was the imputation of error on the part of every Communist party which had supported and justified Stalin's policies in the past. The intensive

debate and disagreement within the ranks of the party on this issue, even at the very highest level, had been unmatched in party developments since the days of the 1920's.

Here is an example of how a rank-and-file party member felt about influencing, in any way, the developments at a party convention. One Communist wrote an article, which appeared in *Party Voice* in November 1956 under the name of "Dan Henry." This Dan Henry, whoever he was, was a complete supporter of the late Stalin and an opponent of all of those Communists who had switched their loyalty to Khrushchev, the new head of the Soviet Communist Party.

Khrushchev was an opportunist, Henry said. He complained that members of the National Committee of the United States Communist Party were admitting that there were differences of opinion within that body, but that they were refusing to let the rank-and-file party members know "what the disagreement was." He wrote, in part, as follows:

The issue will be decided at the convention to be held in February and we know conventions and special meetings seldom originate new programs and policies but convene only to give force to policies and programs already agreed upon. The struggle around these programs and policies having taken place prior to the conventions and special meetings.

As we have seen, the policy and program has already been adopted with the opposition having no opportunity to struggle against them.

The issue will be decided also by the views of these who attend the convention and who *can* attend the convention.

Who will attend the convention? First of all it will be mainly the American Party's leadership who are all basically agreed on the present policy and program with minor differences.

Secondly, it will be the secondary functionaries of the Party who have achieved their status as functionaries of the Party not on their understanding and ability to apply Marxist theory in the class struggle but have achieved it mainly on the question of availability and compliance with existing policy and program.

Very few rank and filers will attend the convention * * *.

So the major representation will be the top leadership and the secondary functionaries who are all basically agreed before hand with but minor differences on the policy and program to be adopted.

This was a party member, speaking from experience, on the chance the average rank and filer had to influence anything that took place at a party convention.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the *Party Voice* article which Mr. McNamara read, be introduced in the record as Committee Exhibit No. 18.

Mr. TUCK. Unless there is objection, and the Chair hears none, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Committee Exhibit No. 18" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Did the party's national convention in February of 1957 follow the pattern predicted by the writer, Dan Henry?

Mr. McNAMARA. For the most part it did. The principal factions in the party's top leadership agreed in advance of the convention that the convention would continue the same basic party organization and the same leadership, and that debate in an effort to resolve their differences would be resumed after the convention.

The resolutions adopted at the convention indicate that concessions were made by all the major factions, leaving the real solution of the conflict in the party to subsequent power politics within the party's national leadership, aided and abetted, of course, by Communists

from abroad. This aspect of the Communist Party's operations will be developed more fully later in these hearings. But this one incident is an apt illustration of the undemocratic organization of the party.

Mr. Henry, actually, was wrong in one respect in his statement—when he said that the party's leadership in 1956 was "all basically agreed on the present policy and program with minor differences."

These differences might have been minor to Mr. Henry, who represented an extreme view and one not widely held in the party, the view that the party should reject Moscow's guidance because of Khrushchev's unjust and opportunist treatment of Stalin who was still worthy of the greatest respect. But contrary to what Henry said, the chief party protagonists who were arguing for and against a multitude of proposed organizational and policy changes, though they accepted the Khrushchev charges against Stalin with the same faith they had once accepted Stalin himself, actually differed basically in the methods they proposed to avoid being proven wrong again in the future.

These were basic, strong differences and they were not minor ones, as Henry implied.

Mr. NITTLE. To return once more to the character of the party structure in the United States, it appears then that this elaborate organizational apparatus is basically intended to channel directives from the top party leadership down to the main body of party members, organized in local clubs and comprising the real working force in the party organization?

Mr. McNAMARA. That is true. Again we have confirmation of this from a Communist, one who identified himself—as most of them do in writing in these internal party publications—only by a first name, "Mort," a party member from Buffalo, New York. His statements appeared in the November 1959 issue of *Party Voice*.

In it he wrote, in part, as follows:

The national committee meets with each other and with the state leadership; the state leadership meets with each other and the county leadership, on down the line till it gets down to the club member who is the one who is supposed to carry out the policies amongst the masses.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions of Mr. McNamara at this time. We propose to recall him later and we ask he be permitted to stand aside for the time being.

Mr. BRUCE. May I ask a few questions?

Is it a fact that these letters appeared in party publications and that the denunciations of the change of policy did appear as letters to the editor or as writings in party publications?

Mr. McNAMARA. Yes.

Mr. BRUCE. Has not a technique which shows even more the totalitarian aspect of the Communist Party been that, when they are getting ready to harden up, or perhaps take a new approach on a specific policy—has it not been, in effect, perhaps to encourage a bit of deviation? I recall specifically in China a few years ago, when there was a hardening up, Mao made a speech that ideas should blossom like the flowers, and shortly after the ideas "blossomed," there was a mass purge. This has happened in other places as well.

Is it not possible that part of their technique here is to weed out, as they are hardening to the hard core, the potential deviationists, by giving a limited amount of encouragement and hope to some of these people, in order to get rid of the soft spots in the party?

Mr. McNAMARA. There may have been; that factor may have been involved to some extent in this, and certainly it is a way of uncovering the "weak sisters," those who do not adhere basically to the party line. I also think, however, that there is another factor in this situation, and that was the fact that John Gates, who was clearly a deviationist, happened to be editor in chief of the *Daily Worker* at that time. Now, if you had had someone else in there, like Benjamin Davis or William Z. Foster, I don't think that these dissenting voices would ever have been permitted to appear in the *Daily Worker*. Then, too, you had quite a deviationist group in the New York party, and it was the New York party bulletin, you see, in which a lot of this deviationist expression took place.

Mr. BRUCE. It does have the effect of hardening the party.

Mr. McNAMARA. Yes, there is no question about that, that it has the effect, as I have said before, of tipping the party leadership off to the "weak sisters," the deviationists within the ranks, and aids the real hardening and toughening of the position and organization that is to take place.

The people of the party would like to get rid of the deviators and they tip their hand. There are many authorities who believe that Mao Tse-tung's famous speech about letting "one hundred flowers bloom," was, in part at least, a device to encourage the deviationists to speak their piece, so that he could identify them and take care of them.

Mr. BRUCE. They move in many devious ways, do they not?

Mr. McNAMARA. That is right.

Mr. BRUCE. Thank you.

Mr. TUCK. The hearings will be in recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 5:20 p.m., Monday, November 20, 1961, the hearings were recessed, to reconvene at 10:00 a.m. Tuesday, November 21, 1961.)

STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1961

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10:00 a.m., in Room 1334, New House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Morgan M. Moulder (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Subcommittee members present: Morgan M. Moulder of Missouri; Donald C. Bruce of Indiana; and Henry C. Schadeberg of Wisconsin.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., director, and Alfred M. Nittle, counsel.

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will be in order.

Call your first witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Robert Friedman.

Will you swear the witness, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony which you are about to give before the subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT FRIEDMAN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I do.

Mr. NITTLE. For the purpose of the record, will the witness please give his full name.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Robert Friedman.

Mr. NITTLE. I see that you are represented by counsel, Mr. Friedman. Is that correct?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Would counsel kindly identify himself?

Mr. RAUH. Joseph L. Rauh, 1625 K Street Northwest, Washington, D.C.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Friedman, have you been known by any other name?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. FRIEDMAN. If I may, I would like to make a brief statement to the committee; very short.

Mr. MOULDER. Would you answer the question?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. May I make a two- or three-sentence statement?

Mr. MOULDER. In connection with your answer you may make a statement, but answer the question which is now pending.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MOULDER. Then you may make any explanation you wish to make.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, I would like respectfully to plead the fifth amendment in answer to that question, on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

I would like to add, however, that I am not a Communist, a member of the Communist Party, and that I am opposed to the Communist system.

Mr. MOULDER. We do not hear you very well. Will you speak louder, please.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I am sorry. I thought I was talking quite loudly.

All right. I would like to respectfully plead the fifth amendment on this and similar questions, on the ground it may tend to incriminate me, and I would like to add briefly to say that I am not a member of the Communist Party; that I am opposed to the Communist system; and that I defend American democracy. I have not been a Communist Party member at any time during the past 4 years.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Friedman, I presume you have had the opportunity to read the chairman's opening statement.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir, I have just glanced at it and read through it.

Mr. NITTLE. You are aware that the committee, through documentation and the testimony of witnesses, is attempting to develop factual information which will disclose the essential nature and character of the United States Communist Party, and particularly its structure, organization, procedures, and international ties.

We have subpoenaed you to testify at this hearing because we believe that you possess knowledge which will help the committee in arriving at the truth, so that the Congress might be adequately informed to assist it in carrying out its law making function.

It is the committee's hope that you will cooperate in this inquiry, but first, of course, we would like to establish for the record your competence to speak on this subject with a degree of knowledge.

I present for your inspection a reproduction of certain pages of the June 1956 issue of *Party Voice*. The front cover of this issue states that that publication is "A bulletin issued by the New York State Communist Party."

I call your attention to page 25 of that issue, which is the beginning of an article entitled "Toward an American Form," allegedly written by one Robert Mann, M-a-n-n.

The second paragraph in the second column of that article opens with the following sentence:

I joined the movement in my late teens at the height of the depression.

Is it not a fact, Mr. Friedman, that the Robert Mann who wrote that statement is actually you?

(Document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, sir, I would like to repeat that I have not been a member at any time during the past four years, and I must respectfully plead the fifth amendment for any period prior to that.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is directed to answer that question. You have opened the door. If you are claiming the privilege, then you

should have done so at the beginning. Now, you have said that you are not now a member of the Communist Party and have not been during the past 4 years, indicating that you are opening up the fact that you were previous to that time a member of the Communist Party; and he is asking you a question pertaining to that period of time.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, sir, respectfully, I would like again to plead the fifth amendment in answer to the question.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you in that article stating that you had joined the Communist Party as a young man during the 1930 depression?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I must plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, this document was introduced yesterday as Committee Exhibit No. 14. (See Appendix, pp. 730-734.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Friedman, I hand you a reproduction of page 4 of the *Daily Worker* of February 28, 1957, which features an item entitled "Speak Your Piece."

(Document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. NITTLE. I ask you to examine the letter—a letter under the title "Earl Browder On Night Beat," which is signed by one Robert Friedman.

Would you please examine the next to the last paragraph of this letter, in which the author refers to Earl Browder, in a TV appearance, writing off his former associates in the Communist Party as "political bankrupts." I ask you also to note the opening words of the last paragraph, which are: "I do not believe that I am politically bankrupt * * *."

Is it not a fact that you are the Robert Friedman who wrote that letter to the *Daily Worker*; that in writing those last quoted words you were proclaiming the fact that you were then a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. Friedman. I must respectfully, again, plead the fifth amendment in reply to your question, and state again that I have not been a member in the past four years.

Mr. MOULDER. What is the date of the document?

Mr. NITTLE. The document is dated February 28, 1957.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you want that document in the record?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, Mr. Chairman, I ask that it be introduced at this point.

Mr. MOULDER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Friedman Exhibit No. 1." See Appendix, pp. 742, 743.)

Mr. MOULDER. May I ask counsel, if he would, to develop more about the background of Mr. Friedman, where he was born, where he lives, his educational background, and his present occupation?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

What is your present occupation Mr. Friedman?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I am a newspaper man.

Mr. NITTLE. By whom are you employed?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I am employed by the *New York Post* newspaper.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your educational background?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I am a high school graduate.

Mr. NITTLE. Of what school?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. De Witt Clinton High School, in New York City.

Mr. MOULDER. I didn't understand you.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. De Witt Clinton High School, sir, in New York City.

Mr. MOULDER. Where were you born?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. In New York City.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you been employed by the New York Post?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Since the end of summer in 1958.

Mr. MOULDER. In what capacity?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I am night city editor, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. Before the *New York Post*, what was your employment?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, for a brief period I was employed on a weekly newspaper, the *Westchester News*, now defunct.

Mr. MOULDER. And then prior to that?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I must respectfully plead the fifth amendment in answer to that question, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. How old are you?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I am 45, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Where do you now reside, specifically?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. You want the street address? 3130 Irwin Avenue, New York City.

Mr. NITTLE. Was high school the extent of your education?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, except for one incomplete evening college session.

Mr. NITTLE. Where was that education obtained?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, that was the College of the City of New York, at night.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you been engaged, as a teacher, at any time?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I must plead the fifth amendment in answer to that question, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Friedman, I hand you a reproduction of a catalog of the Jefferson School of Social Science, for the fall term of the year 1950. I call your attention to pages 12 and 15, which lists one Robert Friedman as an instructor of a course entitled "Principles of Scientific Socialism," a course given especially for members of the Labor Youth League.

(Document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. NITTLE. You are the Robert Friedman, are you not, who taught this course?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I must respectfully plead the fifth amendment in answer to your question, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. This, of course, referred to the Labor Youth League courses at the Jefferson School of Social Science, where Robert Friedman was teaching the principles of scientific socialism on May 15th at 8:15 p.m. It says:

Recognizing the tremendous importance of the education of youth, the Jefferson School is devoting almost its entire resources on Tuesday evenings to a special program of courses for members of the Labor Youth League. All of these courses are designed to further the education of youth in the principles of scientific socialism.

Did you teach such a course there at that school?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I must respectfully plead the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. I ask that the document be introduced in the record.

Mr. MOULDER. So ordered.

(Document marked "Friedman Exhibit No. 2". See Appendix, pp. 744-746.)

Mr. NITTLE. You know, of course, Mr. Friedman, that the Jefferson School of Social Science was a Communist Party school, and that it had been found to be such by the Subversive Activities Control Board after extensive hearings, as well as having been cited by the Attorney General of the United States and by this committee?

Mr. MOULDER. You are referring now to the Jefferson School of Social Science.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I must plead the fifth amendment in answer to your question, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. You also know that the Labor Youth League was at that time the youth section of the Communist Party, and has been cited as such by official agencies of this Government?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I just plead the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. As a matter of fact, is it not correct to say that you would not have been permitted to teach this course at the Jefferson School unless you were not only a party member, but also considered to be, by the party, a person well informed on the doctrines of Marxism-Leninism?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I must plead the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you know Jack Kroner?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I beg your pardon, sir?

Mr. MOULDER. Are you acquainted with Jack Kroner?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. I see he is listed in the document referred to by counsel, with you, as a teacher on principles of scientific socialism at the Jefferson School of Social Science. His classes are 6:30 to 8:30 p.m.; and Robert Friedman, 8:15 to 9:45 p.m. You say you do not know him?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Friedman, I present for your inspection a reproduction of page 12 of the *Daily Worker* of May 5, 1947, and call your attention to the statement contained therein, that you were then the chairman of the Daily Worker unit of the American Newspaper Guild.

(Document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. NITTLE. Is that an accurate statement of the position you held at that time?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I must plead the fifth amendment, sir, in answer to the question.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this document be introduced into evidence as Friedman Exhibit 3.

Mr. MOULDER. So ordered.

(Document marked "Friedman Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a reproduction of the Communist magazine *New Masses*, July 1, 1947 issue, page 18, and I call your attention to the name of Robert Friedman, which appears on that page as the author of a review of a book entitled *The Hour Glass*, by David Alman.

(Document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. NITTLE. Are you the David Friedman who wrote that review?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. You mean Robert Friedman, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, of course.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I must plead the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask the document be introduced as Friedman Exhibit No. 4.

Mr. MOULDER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Friedman Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a reproduction of the Communist Party magazine, *Political Affairs*, January 1955 issue, pages 63 to 65, containing a review of Theodore H. White's book, *Fire in the Ashes*.

(Document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. NITTLE. I call your attention to the fact that the name Robert Friedman appears on page 63 as the author of the book review.

Are you the Robert Friedman who wrote that review for *Political Affairs*?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I must respectfully plead the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I request that the document be introduced as Friedman Exhibit 5.

Mr. MOULDER. Without objection; Exhibit 5.

(Document referred to marked "Friedman Exhibit No. 5" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Friedman, I hand you a reproduction of the Communist Party magazine, *Masses and Mainstream*, April 1954 issue, pages 55 to 57, containing a review of Annette Rubinstein's book, *The Great Tradition in English Literature*, written by Robert Friedman.

(Document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. NITTLE. I also hand to you a reproduction of pages 47-48 of the November 1955 issue of that magazine which contains the story entitled "Situation Wanted," written by Robert Friedman.

(Document was handed to the witness.)

It is a fact, is it not, Mr. Friedman, that you are the Robert Friedman of these two exhibits?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I respectfully plead the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. I ask, Mr. Chairman, that Exhibits Nos. 6 and 7 be introduced into evidence.

Mr. MOULDER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Documents marked "Friedman Exhibits Nos. 6 and 7," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Friedman, the committee has made an analysis of the book reviews that you have written for *The Worker* and *Daily Worker* in past years. It seems that, as a general rule, you have always had good things to say about any Communist or pro-Communist book. On the other hand, it was noticed that you seemed to be consistently and unfavorably critical of every anti-Communist book you reviewed. I could give you some examples, if you wish.

However, we are interested in knowing whether you were a free man as a book reviewer for the Communist Party and the *Daily Worker*, or whether or not you had to accept orders and were under a discipline that compelled you automatically to attack every anti-Communist book whether it was good or bad, true or false?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, sir, I would like to plead the fifth amendment to the question, and I would like to reiterate that I am anti-Communist in my views now, and I oppose the Communist system.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Friedman, we have been very hopeful, in view of your opening statement, and very happy about it when you indicated

that you were opposed to the Communist system. We feel perhaps that you might be willing, under those circumstances, to give this committee factual information on the subject of communism, so that the Congress will be adequately informed of its operation. If you are sincerely opposed to the Communist system, is it not fair for us to assume that you would be pleased to tell us about it?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, I would have to plead the fifth amendment to the question; and to reiterate again, as firmly as I can, that I am not now and have not been at any time during the past four years a Communist.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Friedman, you have stated that you are not now and have not been a member of the Communist Party during the past four years; that you are opposed to the Communist system. What are your reasons, and will you state the reasons, for your opposition to that system?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, if you wish—and I don't want to burden you with a long statement—I will tell you very briefly what my present views are.

Mr. MOULDER. All right; because that will be testing your good faith as to what you stated as the reason for disassociating yourself from the Communist Party.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe that the Communist system is dictatorial, that it provides no free opportunity for its people to choose their leaders or form of government; that it permits no dissent; that it stifles creative arts; and I believe that in the present juncture of history, the Soviet Union has correctly aroused the shock and anger of the world by breaking the agreement to halt nuclear testing and has endangered the world. I believe that the Soviet Union created the present Berlin crisis, and I believe that the Soviet Union has officially sanctioned and encouraged anti-Semitism.

I could go on, but I think that would suffice for you. Those are my firm opinions.

Mr. MOULDER. You say that you are not now a Communist, and have not been during the past four years. Can you be more accurate as to the approximate time when you separated yourself from active membership and participation in Communist Party affairs?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I must respectfully plead the fifth amendment in answer to that question.

Mr. MOULDER. And just what action did you take at that time to achieve a dissociation from the Communist Party?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I must respectfully reply and plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. BRUCE. In your statement, you say in your opinion the Communist Party is dictatorial. Was I correct in hearing you to that effect?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I said that the Communist system is dictatorial, and I had specific reference to the Soviet form of government, but I would not challenge the description to a political party.

Mr. BRUCE. Do you believe that the Communist Party in the United States—from your observance, being anti-Communist, according to your statement—is under the discipline of the international Communist movement?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, sir, I have no present knowledge of it.

MR. BRUCE. Do you have any knowledge from past experience or observation that would lead you to believe that the Communist Party, U.S.A., is under the discipline of the international Communist movement?

MR. FRIEDMAN. I would have to plead the fifth amendment, sir, in answer to your question, except that I would like to repeat that I have not been a member at any time during the past four years.

MR. BRUCE. You realize, of course, from your statement that you have not been a member at any time in the past 4 years, you leave it wide open to anyone to evaluate your statement on the basis that prior to that time, and with the evidence that has been introduced, you did have knowledge of the Communist movement rather intimately. And I would simply like to point out the obligation, perhaps, to a system based on freedom, of an individual who sees the fallacy of the Communist discipline and dictatorial methods, to help prevent other people from being snared into the trap of the Communist movement, perhaps innocently at first.

Do you feel there is an obligation for the ex-Communist, perhaps, to contribute to the knowledge of people, so that they can be better educated and alerted to the danger of the Communist movement?

MR. FRIEDMAN. I appreciate what you say, sir, but I must respectfully plead the fifth amendment in answer.

MR. BRUCE. You do not feel that there is an obligation on the part of the ex-Communist to make up for some of the operations they participated in while they were in the Communist Party?

MR. FRIEDMAN. I must respectfully plead the fifth amendment, sir, in answer to you.

MR. NITTLE. Mr. Friedman, we are much interested in your statement with reference to the Soviet system as being dictatorial; also further interested in your conclusion that the Communists in the Soviet Union are anti-Semitic.

There has been a controversy in the newspapers with relation to the recent jailing of three Jews in Russia, without open trial. And I was particularly interested in a report in the *New York Times* of November 13th, 1961, a report of a meeting of B'nai Brith at which Mr. Label A. Katz spoke and charged that—

Unlike other religious bodies in the Soviet Union, synagogues are not permitted to maintain a central organization or formal contacts with one another. In 42 years, Soviet authorities allowed only one printing of 5,000 copies of the Hebrew prayer book.

Did you find from your experience in the Communist Party that Communists were not only opposed to the Jewish faith, but to all religious faiths?

MR. FRIEDMAN. I must plead the fifth amendment in answer to your question, sir.

MR. NITTLE. You are aware that the Soviet Government has recently denied any oppression of the Jews. They deny that they are anti-Semitic.

MR. FRIEDMAN. I have read that, sir.

MR. NITTLE. Is that another Soviet lie?

MR. FRIEDMAN. I believe it is, sir.

MR. NITTLE. In your later writings, while you were in the Communist Party, you were becoming increasingly aware that the Communist Party in the United States was not a democratic organization. Is that correct?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I must plead the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. I want to return to the first exhibit¹ presented to you, the June 1956 issue of *Party Voice*, a publication of the New York State Communist Party containing the article you wrote for that publication, under the name Robert Mann, and entitled "Toward an American Form."

(Document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. NITTLE. Was not the very title of this article an indirect statement that the Communist Party, about which you were writing and of which you had been a member for so many years, was not American, but was of an alien and undemocratic form?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I must plead the fifth amendment, sir, in answer to your question.

Mr. NITTLE. Would I be wrong in asking you, Mr. Friedman, whether you plead the fifth amendment in this instance because of my assertions relating to your past membership in the Communist Party, rather than because you now maintain a sympathy toward this system?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Will you repeat that question, sir?

(The pending question was read by the reporter.)

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I have no sympathy whatsoever, unequivocally.

Mr. MOULDER. For what?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. For the Communist system, for the teachings of communism.

Mr. MOULDER. Are you referring to the present Communist system, or the philosophy of the Communist Party?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I have no sympathy for the Communist philosophy or for the Communist system of government or Communist teachings.

Mr. NITTLE. In writing that article, Mr. Friedman, you were making a plea to Communist Party members, to the effect that certain changes which you were suggesting would bring it in line, more in line at least, with democratic processes?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I must plead the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. You stated in that article, at the bottom of column 1, page 25, that you wanted to go to—

the very nature of the Communist Party, its procedures, structure and methods of work.

Now, did you not make that statement then because your many years of activity in the party had taught you the undemocratic nature of the Communist Party?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I must plead the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. You went on to state that after joining the Communist Party:

I quickly came to recognize a disparity between the methods of work, either already existing or fought for by Communists and others in organizations and unions and in the Party organization itself.

Then you proceeded to explain and spell out just what that disparity was.

I quote you again from *Party Voice*:

In the unemployed organization to which I belonged, I insisted on elections, minutes, motions, decisions, check-up, majority rule and parliamentary process. In my club—

¹ (Committee Exhibit No. 14. See Appendix, pp. 730-734.)

that is, in the Communist Party club, of which you apparently stated you were then a member—

I became increasingly conscious of the absence of all this, but decided—not uniquely, no doubt—that it didn't matter because all Communists were of a single mind, anyhow, and it was a waste of time to bother with forms when we shared the higher democracy of common purpose.

In other words, Mr. Friedman, were you coming to realize at that time that the procedures and methods of the Communist Party were violative of the spirit of democratic institutions and democratic groups? But were you saying you felt that did not matter too much then?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I must plead the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. In the third column of page 25 of that article, it seems you really got down to the heart of the fault you found with the Communist Party, after some 20 years or more of service in it. You wrote:

I think the answer lies here. We swallowed whole the concept of a tightly disciplined, "chain-of-command" type of organization, adopted from abroad.

Did you mean by that, Mr. Friedman, that the Communist Party of the United States was simply a carbon copy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I must plead the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Friedman, if you turn to the last page of that article, under the subhead "Democratic Centralism," you wrote:

I have read and heard a good deal in recent months about the violations of "democratic centralism." Yet I have seen nowhere any questioning of the principle itself.

Mr. MOULDER. What is the date of that?

Mr. NITTLE. Will you give us the date of that publication?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. June, 1956.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you coming at that time to realize that the typical Communist semantic employed in that expression, "democratic centralism," was a contradiction in terms?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I must respectfully plead the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Perhaps you could tell us if and when you came to realize that the Communists had invented and created a peculiar jargon of their own; by which they deceitfully attempt to confuse non-Communists and perhaps even to bring Communists into thinking that they are engaging in a democratic process when they are not?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I must plead the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you regard the expression, "democratic centralism," as a contradiction in terms?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Do I now regard it as a contradiction in terms?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes. As a man who has written a good deal, thought a good deal, as a man who is well informed and experienced, won't you tell us whether as a scholar, this expression itself shows its own inconsistency?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well I thank you for the term "scholar." I don't deserve it. But I will tell you what my belief is about it.

I think that "democratic centralism" is just a pretty word to cover and cloak the totalitarian Soviet system of government.

Mr. NITTLE. The expression is a complete fraud, is it not?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe so.

Mr. NITTLE. It is a complete fraud, like the Communist expression "peaceful coexistence," is it not?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, I would say that the word "peaceful coexistence" means nothing unless it is lived up to. It is only a word.

Mr. NITTLE. What do you think this expression means?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Peaceful coexistence?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes. Does it mean something special in Communist Party lingo?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, I would plead the fifth amendment, but if you want my personal views on what I think the term means to me, I would gladly say so.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us what you think the term means?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I think that the term "peaceful coexistence" is just as much, in its sphere, a cloak for whatever Russian foreign policy exists at the moment, whether aggressive or nonaggressive. But I don't think it means per se what it says.

Mr. NITTLE. As a matter of fact, if one examines the Communist literature, one reaches the same conclusion. Communists realize, of course, that sometimes non-Communists will get hold of what they write, and they don't want to be too clear; is that not correct?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, I must plead the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. For example, Stalin, as early as 1927, talked about "peaceful coexistence." And he explained what it was. He said:

We must not forget Lenin's statement that as regards our work of construction very much depends upon whether we succeed in postponing war with the capitalist world, which is inevitable, but which can be postponed either until the moment when the proletarian revolution in Europe matures, or until the moment when the colonial revolutions have fully matured, or, lastly, until the moment when the capitalists come to blows over the division of the colonies. Therefore, the maintenance of peaceful relations with the capitalist countries is an obligatory task for us. Our relations with the capitalist countries are based on the assumption that the coexistence of two opposite systems is possible.¹

Did he not mean by that simply this: We, the Soviet Communists, must maintain the peace until we are ready for war. We are in a period of reconstruction. We can't upset the apple cart. If we go to war now we will destroy everything we have. We must wait until the balance of power shifts. And therefore, during this period of construction, we must maintain the peace. So they called it peaceful coexistence. Would you say that is a correct interpretation?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, I haven't read it. I have been trying to follow you, and it sounds so. It sounds so.

Mr. NITTLE. Let us see how that Lenin policy of "peaceful coexistence" is carried to the modern day. Perhaps you can help us again. The manifesto of 81 Communist parties which was issued in December 1960 after a meeting in Moscow, likewise employing Communist double talk, stated:

The policy of peaceful coexistence meets the basic interests of all peoples.

May I interpolate for a moment? By "peoples," they mean Communist people.

Then they go on:

This policy strengthens the positions of socialism.

By "socialism," they mean communism.

¹ HCUA, *Facts on Communism*, Vol. I, p. 112 (Dec. 1959), House Doc. 336, 86th Cong.

And further: "Peace is a loyal ally of socialism"—and this is the significant part—"for time is working for socialism against capitalism."

Can you tell us what they mean by that?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, I have no personal knowledge of what they mean. I can try to interpret it for my own self, but it is not too clear.

Mr. NITTLE. And let us go to their further statement, which may help clarify the matter. This is tucked away in another section of the 81-party manifesto:

The time is not far off when socialism's share of world production will be greater than that of capitalism. Capitalism will be defeated in the decisive sphere of human endeavor, the sphere of material production.

Do you not regard that statement as related to the doctrine of "peaceful coexistence"?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, I have no personal knowledge of the subject, but I would say that I have every confidence that our country will match and surpass any other country in the world in material production.

Mr. NITTLE. Are they not saying, in effect, that when they are able to out-produce us, they will be in a position to defeat us, and then the policy of peaceful coexistence may not be necessary any longer? Would I be correct and justified in assuming that?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I have no personal knowledge, but again I repeat that I think that no American need fear that this country will be second best to anybody.

Mr. NITTLE. I am very pleased to hear of your confidence. Certainly we are not defeatists. We are far ahead. And let us maintain that position.

Perhaps you did read the manifesto of the 81 Communist parties?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I may have read a newspaper account, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. They boast therein of an alleged terrific progress made in Communist Russia, do they not?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Well, I know they have boasted repeatedly, and I presume they may have there.

Mr. NITTLE. Is it not rather odd that they are now, this week, pleading poverty, and are practically admitting the failure of their system to the United Nations, in an attempt to avoid their budgetary responsibilities?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir, I would say that is a contradiction.

Mr. NITTLE. Does anyone know when a Communist speaks the truth?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I would have to plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. MOULDER. Does counsel have any other evidence or any other documents?

Mr. NITTLE. No further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Friedman, I think anyone who has studied the Communist Party has been aware of the personal struggle that many members of the party go through as the dictatorial and regimental pattern gets through to them, and their revolt internally against this violation of human dignity and rights becomes clear. And I can, having observed over the years men who have been in the party and have come out of the party—sometimes it does take them years, actually, to readjust their sights in total.

I have been interested in your statement and your very forceful statement that for the last 4 years you have not been in the Com-

munist Party, and that you clearly realize the monolithic pattern of the Soviet-directed operation, and your statement that you are now, as of the last four years, anti-Communist.

And I can understand possibly, in view of certain conflicts that have been generated within our society, why you may in your own mind not wish to answer certain questions here. But let me ask you this: Have you voluntarily made yourself available to other Government agencies to provide information to help in the preservation of our free system, during this period of the last four years, such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, sir, I have not. And I honestly believe that my best service to my country is to support its institutions, which I do, and to defend it if called upon, which I will.

Mr. BRUCE. Would you make yourself available to Government agencies, which have been supported and praised, almost without exception, except from the Communist Party, such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I would have to consider anything that my Government would ask of me, sir.

Mr. BRUCE. What was that answer?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I said I would have to consider any request that the Government made of me.

Mr. BRUCE. But you do not feel that voluntarily there is an obligation on your part to go to these people and to unburden yourself of what may have transpired in prior years?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No, I have not felt that, sir.

Mr. BRUCE. That is all.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Schadeberg?

Mr. SCHADEBERG. No questions.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is excused.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. McNamara.

Mr. MOULDER. We are recalling the same witness, Mr. McNamara?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir. Mr. McNamara, the research director of this committee, will continue his testimony of yesterday.

TESTIMONY OF FRANCIS J. McNAMARA—Resumed

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. McNamara, you have referred to Communist statements respecting the rigid discipline within the party. Can you describe in somewhat greater detail how such discipline is maintained?

Mr. McNAMARA. In my testimony yesterday, I indicated there were two basic party principles, democratic centralism and monolithic unity, which require that all party members respond in a solid phalanx to any directives from the top leadership.

I also mentioned the fact, in describing the party's structure, that it has a Review or Control Commission and that this commission operates down on the lower levels of the party, as well as on the national level.

It is through this commission that this discipline is also enforced. Through it, on all levels of the party, disciplinary measures can be introduced against any party member who deviates in any way from the party doctrine and directives.

Over the years, the committee has had extensive testimony on this subject. This last year, for example, there was introduced, in one of our hearing records, testimony and documents which revealed that one Communist Party organizer had been expelled from the party because he had disagreed with certain policies of higher officials in his state. And this happened to this man in spite of the fact that he had the support of other Communists in the section and club to which he belonged. It happened to him in spite of the fact that he was convicted of charges he never knew the exact nature of. They had never been spelled out for the man. And he was not even allowed to attend the trial at which he was convicted.

This is one example.

Mr. MOULDER. You have heard the testimony of Mr. Friedman?

Mr. McNAMARA. I have, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you have any statement to make concerning his testimony, as applying to the statement that you have just made, or do you wish to comment on his testimony in that respect?

Mr. McNAMARA. I believe the article Mr. Friedman wrote, under the name Robert Mann, definitely confirms statements and evidence that were introduced in the hearings yesterday, and will be further introduced today, showing that there is an essential tieup between this discipline of the party—its lack of democracy—and its structure; that the two go together hand in hand. He revealed in his article in *Party Voice* that he felt this—just prior to his break with the party he came out with it openly and said so in party circles—that they had adopted a foreign structure, an alien type of organization that was completely undemocratic in its setup, and it was just because of the very nature of the party that there could not be anything like real democracy in it.

Mr. MOULDER. Is dissent to any degree permitted within the party organization?

Mr. McNAMARA. Only to a very minor degree. As far as the rank-and-file party member is concerned, there is practically none allowed. Obviously, however, those high in the national leadership do have more freedom in this respect.

And again I would like to introduce statements made by Communists themselves to substantiate this point.

During the party controversy that erupted into the open in 1956, the degree to which dissent was to be allowed or introduced in the party was debated very fiercely. And one Communist, who wrote simply under the designation of "Gene P.," in the publication *Party Voice*, October 1956, made the following statement on page 11:

Some comrades speak of introducing the right to dissent into our present structure. But this right and the actual exercise of it is the very antithesis of our present structure. It will, I believe, prove impossible to reconcile the two in life and one or the other will have to go.

In other words, here you have a Communist stating on the basis of his experience in the party that there never had been the right to dissent before. They are talking of introducing it in the party.

And then, again, speaking on the basis of his experience in the party ranks, he says he is convinced it will never fit in with the party structure and organization. They can have one or the other, but they can have no freedom, no dissent, if the party maintains its present setup.

Howard Fast, the former Communist Party member and novelist, who severed his ties with the party in the course of this controversy, maintained the same thing as this Communist Party member did.

Writing in *Prospectus*, the November 1957 issue, page 38, a non-Communist publication, after his break with the party, Fast said:

The dynamic organizational force and structure of the party tends toward two very different currents, a power-hungry, dictatorial, inhuman, and anti-human direction in the leadership, and a confining, thought-constricting, submissive, and frustrating direction among the rank and file.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the statements which have just been read be retained in the committee records as exhibits in this case.

Mr. MOULDER. So ordered.

(Documents marked "Committee Exhibits Nos. 19 and 20," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. McNamara, the procedures in the Communist Party in the United States appear to have a strong resemblance to those which Khrushchev confirms were employed against Soviet Party members by what he called "the capricious and brutal tyrant Stalin."

Would you comment on that statement?

Mr. McNAMARA. That is true. And it is also true that the charges which have been made against U.S. Communists recently, those who happen to disagree with other Communists with more power, are also reminiscent of the charges which Khrushchev himself is today using to crush certain of his opponents in the Soviet Communist Party. Those who have followed the proceedings of the recent 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party will recall how Khrushchev denounced as "anti-Party" and "Stalinist" others within his party bureaucracy who had challenged his policies.

In some instances, these charges he made were palpably false. Former Premier Malenkov, for example, was thus attacked by Khrushchev, but Malenkov had, in fact, promoted a post-Stalin program which Khrushchev himself followed when he came to complete power within the Soviet Union.

I would like to read from an article entitled "Party Democracy and Dissent," which appeared in the New York party bulletin, *Party Voice*, issue of June 1956, pages 3 and 4. The author, a Communist who was identified only by the initials "B. S.," describes how "anti-leadership" had become a standard charge in party expulsions and how it discouraged dissent within the ranks of the party members. This is what he said:

What has been the main ideological weapon that has militated against the practice of democracy in our Party? Each "prosecutor" at an expulsion knew full well that there were a series of standard charges that had to be put into each case in order to make it stick: anti-leadership, undisciplined, anti-working class, and for the poor soul who would dare to attempt to argue his or her case, the cardinal crime of breaking the unity of the Party and in reality wanting it to degenerate into a debating society. It is the concept of monolithic unity which we must examine.

In the name of monolithic unity we have learned to stand by while important dissent was expunged from our ranks.

And then this American Communist, B. S., went on to ask this pertinent question:

Isn't it true that we borrowed literally from the CPSU [that is, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union] on this question of monolithic unity?

The manner in which this concept serves as a club with which the bureaucrats in the American party can compel obedience by the lower-level rank-and-file party members was also spelled out in the same article by the same writer. He said:

As long as we have a section organizer or a club organizer, or anyone who, when unable to convince a member, a sympathizer of the correctness of a line, can take recourse to the need for monolithic unity, then you must run the risk that the Party's ears are closed to the masses. * * *

So long as we place major emphasis on the danger of our becoming a debating society and the danger of the influx of bourgeois ideas, then we must run the risk that somewhere honest and correct opinion will be characterized as an effort to do that.

And then he concluded that the party, in spite of its professions for certain democratic processes in America, had actually "cultivated a contempt for bourgeois democracy" for "many years."

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully request that the article from which Mr. McNamara read be introduced as a committee exhibit and made a part of the printed record.

Mr. MOULDER. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Committee Exhibit No. 21." See Appendix, pp. 747-750.)

Mr. NITTLE. Do you have any further documentation on the way in which dissent has been suppressed in the party organization?

Mr. McNAMARA. Yes, Yesterday I introduced a document in the record, Committee Exhibit No. 16, which I would like to quote from again. This document contained the complaint of a Brooklyn club of the Communist Party, which appeared in *Party Voice*, issue of October 1956. And among other things, this club—this was a position the club as a whole had adopted—made these charges against the Communist Party:

Differences of opinion have often been construed as "anti-leadership tendencies" and outright "deviationism." Discussion in many areas has taken place in an atmosphere of intimidation not conducive to honest and critical evaluation.

and

Too frequently the concept of "democratic centralism" has been taken to mean that once a policy decision has been made, it must never be questioned as a matter of party discipline.

In addition, a regional party committee dealing with Communist work in the cultural field made a similar finding, which was also published in *Party Voice*, the issue of January 1957. This regional party committee said:

But monolithic, in practice, has come to mean that only one interpretation of what the program and practice should be has been allowed to exist. Dissents have either been frowned upon, silenced or exorcised, as the case may be.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I request that this Communist Party document be marked as an exhibit and retained in the committee files.

Mr. MOULDER. So ordered.

(Document marked "Committee Exhibit No. 22" and retained in committee files.)

(At this point Mr. Schadeberg left the hearing room.)

Mr. NITTLE. Did not the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, which was held at the height of the party's internal controversy in February 1957, specifically add to the party constitution what appeared to be a new right of dissent for party members?

Mr. McNAMARA. Yes, it did that, primarily under the influence of the Gates faction, which was quite strong at that time. Gates, however, and many of those who supported him subsequently left the party. And while the exact language of this new proviso has not been deleted from the constitution, new provisos tightening the party discipline were added at the 17th National Convention held about 2½ years later, in December 1959.

And even this new guaranty of dissent, as introduced in the party constitution in 1957, had a qualifying clause which rendered its implementation a matter of discretion, actually, with the party leadership. The clause read as follows:

Every officer and member shall have the right to express a dissenting opinion on any matter of Party policy with respect to which a decision has been made by majority vote of the appropriate Party committee or convention, provided that such dissenting officer or member does not engage in factional or other activity which hinders or impedes the execution of such policy.

That is in Section 2 of Article VI.

In other words, the higher party leaders can always make the finding that this dissenting party member or officer is taking a position in his dissent which hinders or impedes the execution of party policy, and therefore he is silenced. His dissent, the so-called right to dissent, spelled out in the constitution, means absolutely nothing.

Mr. NITTLE. What evidence can you present with respect to the continued existence of discipline and a monolithic party today?

Mr. McNAMARA. The National Committee of the Communist Party held its first meeting in March 1960—that is, its first meeting after the December 1959 convention. And at this meeting, James S. Allen, one of the members of the National Committee and a long-time party functionary, made the observation that the convention had marked “our victory over revisionism.”

This meant, translated from party jargon, that the party had triumphed over all dissenters of the John Gates variety.

These people had either been expelled from the party; they had quit the party or had surrendered and accepted party discipline, so that the party once more, really, had attained monolithic unity. It had gotten rid of all those whose views were not considered sufficiently pro-Soviet and revolutionary in character.

Then Allen stated, according to an article entitled “Recovery After the Anti-Revisionist Struggle” in the June 1960 issue of *Political Affairs*, that: “During the next two years at least, the party will be shaped and guided by this National Committee.”

He also stated:

I hope the National Committee will proceed immediately to restore democratic centralism as the acknowledged principle of party organizations, as decided by the Convention.

Now, in testimony yesterday, I introduced quite a few exhibits which showed that this democratic centralism—which was being restored, Allen said, under the new National Committee—was an authoritarian technique of control within the party; that the claim it was a democratic technique was a fraud; that numerous party members had stated this; they had learned it from their experience over many years.

So once again you had from a long-time, high-ranking official of the party the statement within its meeting that this authoritarian rule

was being restored, that all the dissenters had either been gotten rid of or they had bowed down and given up their right to dissent, their hope to dissent, and had accepted party discipline.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully request that the text of Mr. Allen's remarks be marked as an exhibit and retained in the committee records.

Mr. MOULDER. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Committee Exhibit No. 23" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Now, does the actual party practice bear out today the authoritarian principle of operation?

Mr. McNAMARA. It does. This expression of dissent, disagreement, within the party ranks, which characterized the period 1956-57, has been ended. The expression of dissenting views has been eliminated from the Communist press. This began in the year 1958, when a staunchly pro-Khrushchev paramilitary party organization group finally was installed in all the important top leadership positions of the U.S. Communist Party. Many members and leaders who failed to fall in line with the new leadership were subjected to stern disciplinary action, ranging from demotion from party leadership positions to outright expulsion from the party.

Some of these men, of course, will appear in these hearings as witnesses.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, at this point we would like to have Mr. McNamara stand aside. We expect to recall him at a later point in the hearing.

At this time we would like to interrogate another witness.

Mr. MOULDER. All right. Call the other witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Homer Chase.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chase, will you be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before the committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CHASE. I do.

TESTIMONY OF HOMER B. CHASE

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chase, for the record, would you please state your full name?

Mr. CHASE. My full name is Homer B. Chase.

Mr. NITTLE. Where do you reside?

Mr. CHASE. My legal residence is Washington, New Hampshire.

Mr. NITTLE. You indicated your legal residence. Do you have an actual residence elsewhere?

Mr. CHASE. Yes, I live in Boston at the present time; Dorchester.

Mr. NITTLE. At the Dorchester Hotel; is that right?

Mr. CHASE. I didn't say that. I said I live in the Dorchester section of Boston.

Mr. NITTLE. I see. You live in the Dorchester area of Boston?

Mr. CHASE. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Is that the area in which you conduct your business?

Mr. CHASE. Conduct my business?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes; or your occupation.

Mr. CHASE. Not necessarily.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you have an occupation in the Dorchester area?

Mr. CHASE. In Dorchester? No.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your occupation, Mr. Chase?

Mr. CHASE. Well, I would see no reason or point, after listening to and reading this document that I have, in entering into this. I can see in no way how it will assist Congress in their deliberations, or this committee or this subcommittee.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you mean to indicate by what you have said that you have no knowledge of the operation of the Communist Party within the United States?

Mr. CHASE. No, I haven't said that at all.

Mr. NITTLE. I thought perhaps you indicated that when you said you could not contribute to this discussion.

Mr. CHASE. I said that I did not see how my occupation could contribute to it.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you employed by the Communist Party at this time?

Mr. CHASE. It would seem to me that the discussion of political parties, their programs, their actual personnel, would be proscribed by the first amendment in an investigative committee of this type, and I would certainly utilize all the rights that are available to me not to answer that question.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you feel it is also proscribed by the fifth amendment?

Mr. CHASE. Oh, yes. Oh, yes, because many citizens have been involved in prosecutions—I don't use the word "persecutions," but "prosecutions"—because of such testimony.

Mr. NITTLE. Let me ask you, in order that the record may be clear: In refusing to answer the question I propounded, are you invoking the first amendment to the Constitution?

Mr. CHASE. I am noting it, yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you also intending to invoke the fifth amendment of the Constitution?

Mr. CHASE. Well, since the committee, I assume, I like to assume, has great respect for the first amendment, it may not be necessary at this moment.

Mr. NITTLE. The committee respects the entire Constitution.

Mr. CHASE. As do I.

Mr. NITTLE. But there are only certain constitutional privileges that are pertinent to a refusal to respond to an inquiry of this committee.

Mr. CHASE. Certainly you wouldn't argue that the first amendment doesn't protect a person from a discussion of political beliefs. I don't think Congress has come to that conclusion, have they?

Mr. NITTLE. What are you pleading as a refusal to reply to the question?

Mr. CHASE. Which question was that, please?

Mr. MOULDER. What your occupation is. I assume that is the question pending.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CHASE. Well, I certainly wish to utilize the first amendment, and whatever other constitutional rights are necessary or available to me.

Mr. BRUCE. Do you invoke the fifth amendment, sir?

Mr. CHASE. Well, I haven't as of yet, no. I think that if the committee presses the question I will invoke the fifth amendment. I will go that far.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is directed to answer the question as to what his occupation is.

Mr. CHASE. I beg your pardon?

Mr. MOULDER. You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. CHASE. In that case, I plead the first and fifth amendments and respectively—respectfully—or in other words I decline to answer.

Mr. NITTLE. I note that you are not represented by counsel, Mr. Chase.

Mr. CHASE. That is correct; only inasmuch as I act as my own attorney, in my own limited—

Mr. NITTLE. Well, you have previously appeared before this committee—as a matter of fact, on March 20, 1958, in the course of a committee investigation into the activities of the Communist Party in the New England area—have you not?

Mr. CHASE. I have appeared previously before a subcommittee. I believe it was a subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you have information as to the witness's occupation at the present time? If so, state what it is, and ask him if that is true, if that is his occupation.

Mr. CHASE. I would like to point out in this connection, if I may, that it hasn't been established, here, that I have an occupation. There are a number of million people unemployed in the country.

Mr. NITTLE. You testified before, Mr. Chase, that you were a lumber worker, did you not?

Mr. CHASE. That is correct. I believe that is correct. I don't have the transcript available, but to the best of my recollection that would be—

Mr. NITTLE. In addition to having been a lumber worker, you have had other occupations, have you not?

Mr. CHASE. Well, here I think you are getting into a field that I would decline to discuss. I think that whatever contribution I would make would not be limited—of course, this is my opinion—it wouldn't be a determining factor what occupation I had been in, or occupations.

Mr. NITTLE. Prior to your activities in the New England area—

Mr. MOULDER. May I say the reason for asking that question is to determine whether or not your occupation may relate to the subject of our inquiry, and whether or not you are in a position to give us information concerning the objectives of the committee's investigation. And it is for the committee to determine whether or not it is relevant to aid and assist the committee in its work.

Mr. NITTLE. If it please the Chair, I propose now through a series of questions to elicit perhaps the competence of this witness to testify in relation to the subject of the inquiry.

Prior to your activities in the New England area, you were chairman of the State Communist Party organization in Georgia, were you not, Mr. Chase?

Mr. CHASE. Well, obviously, when we get into the question of Georgia, where we have this extremely limited political freedom, where a vast number of our citizens aren't even able to vote, not even able to vote for the lack of choice that we were given in presidential candidates—

Mr. MOULDER. Would you answer the question?

Mr. CHASE. —then it is not up to me, until this is corrected by Congress or the Executive, to discuss political activities in Georgia, without endangering the lives of the citizens.

Mr. MOULDER. That isn't responsive to the question.

Answer the question, and make any comments which you wish to make in explanation, or in support of your answer.

Mr. CHASE. Well, it certainly hasn't been the procedure with the previous witnesses.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Chairman, I request that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is directed to answer the question.

Mr. CHASE. And what is the question, again, please?

Well, I think I know the gist of it.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mr. CHASE. I decline to answer that question under my rights under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, your period as the Georgia chairman of the Communist Party, I believe covered the years 1947, 1948, 1949, and 1950. Would you affirm or deny that?

Mr. CHASE. No, I would not.

Mr. BRUCE. What was that?

Mr. CHASE. I would neither affirm or deny it.

Does the committee have any objection if I smoke?

Mr. MOULDER. Quite all right.

Mr. NITTLE. I inquired whether Mr. Chase had been the Georgia Communist Party chairman in the years 1947 to 1950, inclusive.

Mr. BRUCE. As I understand, your first answer was no, you do not deny it, and then you qualified that answer.

Mr. CHASE. No; he asked me do I deny or affirm it, and I said I do not either deny or affirm it.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you in fact the Georgia chairman of the Communist Party during those years?

Mr. CHASE. I decline to answer that question under my constitutional rights.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, when you say "constitutional rights"—

Mr. CHASE. And for the reasons given.

Mr. NITTLE. You include the reasons given?

Mr. CHASE. The reasons of political freedom and the lack of same in Georgia.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you ever reside in Georgia?

Mr. CHASE. Certainly.

Mr. MOULDER. How long did you reside there?

Mr. CHASE. Well, let's see. I first came into Georgia for paratroop training from Texas, I believe, in 1944.

Mr. MOULDER. Were you in the military service there, then?

Mr. CHASE. What?

Mr. MOULDER. You were in the military service?

Mr. CHASE. Yes, I took my paratroop training in Fort Benning, Georgia.

Mr. MOULDER. And how long did that take?

Mr. CHASE. The paratroop training? I think it lasted in my case about 6 weeks, 6 or 7 weeks, to get our wings.

Mr. MOULDER. And then did you go back to Georgia?

I am asking you this: Were you ever a resident of Georgia, occupied with any other activities other than in the military service?

Mr. CHASE. Well, I can answer the first part. I was a resident of Georgia when I was not occupied with the military service.

Mr. MOULDER. And how long did that continue?

Mr. CHASE. I think I was in Georgia from around 1947 through 1950.

Mr. MOULDER. And during that period of time, what was your occupation there?

Mr. CHASE. That question I decline to answer, for the reasons previously given.

Mr. MOULDER. You are claiming the provisions of the Constitution?

Mr. CHASE. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. During that time, Mr. Chase, you were in fact on the payroll of the Communist Party as an organizer and chairman in Georgia, were you not?

Mr. CHASE. Again, for the reasons given, I do not choose to answer that question.

Mr. NITTLE. You have had other residences in the South, have you not, prior to your period as Georgia chairman?

Mr. CHASE. In the South? Yes. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. I don't wish to take advantage of the assumption in the question that you were Georgia chairman, although you appear to have agreed or submitted to that statement.

Let me put it this way: Prior to the time we indicated that you had been the Georgia chairman, you did reside in the South?

Mr. CHASE. Well, I am answering the question as to whether I had residence in other places. There has been no proof; not established here.

Mr. NITTLE. In the 1940's for some period you did also serve as an organizer for the Communist Party in the State of Florida, did you not?

Mr. CHASE. In 1940?

Mr. NITTLE. In the 1940's, for some period.

Mr. CHASE. Oh, 1940?

Mr. NITTLE. Let me be a little more specific.

On November 29, 1954, a Mr. Edwin Waller—

Mr. CHASE. Mr. who?

Mr. NITTLE. Waller.

Mr. CHASE. W-a-l-l-a-c-h?

Mr. NITTLE. Edwin E. W-a-l-l-e-r—testified before this committee. During the course of his own period of membership in the Communist Party in Florida for the period 1945 to 1948, he said he had known you, and that you held the position of full-time organizer for the party in Florida.

Would you care to affirm or deny the sworn testimony of Mr. Waller at that time?

Mr. CHASE. No. I wouldn't care to affirm or deny it. Actually, I am not very much interested in it.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you in fact the Florida organizer for the Communist Party during the time of which Mr. Waller spoke?

Mr. CHASE. Again, for the reasons that I give, that I feel that you are infringing on my rights as a citizen under the first and fifth, and the general spirit of the Bill of Rights, I would not answer that question.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you not also a delegate at the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, which was held in New York City in February, February 9th to 12th, in the year 1957?

Mr. CHASE. In the year 1957?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mr. CHASE. I would decline to answer that question for the previous reasons.

Mr. MOULDER. May I interrupt at this point?

First I will ask you: Did you volunteer for the military service, or were you drafted?

Mr. CHASE. I was drafted.

Mr. MOULDER. And where were you residing at the time you were drafted?

Mr. CHASE. I volunteered for the paratroops; to make myself perfectly clear, because I was drafted.

Mr. MOULDER. At that time were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHASE. Well, that question, for the reasons previously given——

I don't like the monopoly of this, but I will cheerfully discuss with this committee philosophical questions on the issues of the day or the issues past.

Mr. MOULDER. On the issue of communism?

Mr. CHASE. I beg your pardon?

Mr. MOULDER. Will you discuss the issue of communism?

Mr. CHASE. Oh, certainly.

What did one witness say? He said it kind of timidly, but he said he wasn't a scholar. Well, perhaps immodestly, I believe that I am a bit of a scholar, perhaps a hillbilly scholar, but nevertheless a bit of a scholar. And I would discuss these questions and gladly give my opinions of them. But as to membership, it would be against my moral principles to get into this question.

Mr. MOULDER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHASE. The same answer would have to apply, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chase, what is your educational background? I mean by that, formal education.

Mr. CHASE. Formal education? A graduate of Dole Grammar School in Washington, N.H., a graduate of Hillsboro High School, and a graduate of the Aviation Cadets Preflight Training School in Texas, including the college at Pennsylvania.

They had a short college term to go with it. That is the formal education.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, the committee has compiled a record of Mr. Chase's past activities in the party as Exhibit 1; we would like simply to retain this in the committee files.¹

(Document marked "Chase Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MOULDER. Can you read it?

Mr. NITTLE. We have covered most of it in the questioning.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chase, did you ever sign any document, or were you requested to sign any document, while in the military service or while seeking employment any place, where you were asked the

¹ Chase Exhibit No. 1, includes *The Worker* identification (December 5, 1948, p. 2) of Chase as Communist Party chairman for the State of Georgia.

question as to whether or not you were a member of the Communist Party or any other subversive organization seeking the overthrow of our form of government by force and violence? Were you ever requested to take an oath concerning your Communist Party affiliation?

Mr. CHASE. As far as I can recall, the only oath I took while in the service was the oath that everyone else took.

Mr. MOULDER. Then did you apply for any position where you were asked to take an oath concerning affiliation with the Communist Party or any subversive organization?

Mr. CHASE. I didn't get the first part of that organization. The acoustics here—

Mr. MOULDER. Have you ever sought employment or been requested to fill out an application or take an oath concerning your affiliation with the Communist Party in connection with your efforts to secure employment?

Mr. CHASE. I would decline to answer that question under my rights, under the Bill of Rights.

Mr. MOULDER. Have you ever traveled to a foreign country?

Mr. CHASE. Certainly.

Mr. MOULDER. In making the application for a passport, did you fill out any application form concerning your affiliation with the Communist Party or any subversive organization?

Mr. CHASE. To tell you the truth, I don't recall. I don't recall what the provisions were on the passport when I went abroad. It was a number of years ago. And I don't recall.

Mr. MOULDER. To what foreign countries did you travel?

Mr. CHASE. I traveled in Spain, France, Germany, and I am not sure—Belgium, definitely. I don't know about Holland.

Mr. MOULDER. And while in those countries, did you participate in any Communist Party or Soviet Union party activities?

Mr. CHASE. Have I ever participated in any—

Mr. MOULDER. Well, while abroad did you attend any conference or confer with Communist Party leaders in those countries?

Mr. CHASE. Well, of course, the situation over there is somewhat different than here.

I am explaining this in order to be able to give an intelligent answer to your question.

Even though those are capitalist countries, they have a more civilized approach to the Communist movement in most European countries than we do here, and while I might have conferred with a Communist or a Communist leader without even knowing it—I mean it would be a very difficult question to answer.

Mr. MOULDER. You would know it if you discussed it with any Communist, would you not?

Mr. CHASE. Discussed what?

Mr. MOULDER. Communist Party activities and their plans in their respective countries.

Mr. CHASE. Well, I have already indicated that I have studied somewhat the contemporary scene and the activity of the various political parties, and I probably discussed them wherever I have been.

Mr. MOULDER. Well, did the Communist Party of this country or any other country pay your expenses in connection with the travels that you have mentioned?

Mr. CHASE. No.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you pay the expenses yourself?

Mr. CHASE. Well, some of my travels—I don't want to give you a false impression—were paid for by your uncle.

Mr. MOULDER. By "your uncle"?

Mr. CHASE. Yes, the Government of the United States. I went abroad as a soldier.

Mr. MOULDER. Well, you are referring to your military service?

Mr. CHASE. Yes, yes.

Mr. MOULDER. I am referring to how many trips you have made to foreign countries not in the capacity of military service.

Mr. CHASE. All right. And where does this come in, now? At what point are we now?

Mr. MOULDER. A very clear point. You traveled abroad, you say, and you seem to be willing to discuss the trips you made while in the military service. But when you were not in the military service and traveling abroad, where you secured a passport, I ask you who then paid your expenses.

Mr. CHASE. Oh. I reckon I did.

Mr. MOULDER. Did the Communist Party of this country or any other country provide the money for your expenses?

Mr. CHASE. Well, I think I've already answered the question.

Mr. MOULDER. No, you have not convinced me about it. What was your answer?

Mr. CHASE. I beg your pardon?

Mr. MOULDER. What was your answer?

Mr. CHASE. I said I paid it.

Mr. MOULDER. Well, who gave you the money to pay it with?

Mr. CHASE. Well, I realize I don't look very prosperous, but a trip to Europe, when I went to Europe, was not quite the expensive affair that it is today. I don't see that it has been established that anybody would have to pay it for me.

Mr. MOULDER. Did the Communist Party of this country or any other country provide you with the money with which you paid the expenses?

Mr. CHASE. No.

I am not implying that it would be bad if they did, or good if they did. I am just simply saying "no."

Mr. BRUCE. Have you traveled overseas, outside of your military service, in the interest of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHASE. No, there is no need to thresh around it, so to speak. I fought in Republican Spain against Franco in 1937 and 1938.

Now, as to whether in your mind this fight against fascism, which of course included the Communist Party of Spain, was aiding communism—well, this is already a philosophical question.

Mr. BRUCE. Were you a member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

Mr. CHASE. That is right.

Mr. MOULDER. Counsel, may I see the document (Chase Exhibit No. 1) previously mentioned?

(Document was handed to Mr. Moulder.)

Mr. CHASE. Incidentally, since the document was mentioned, I would have to enter an objection to its submission to this committee, since the witnesses that have testified evidently have not been cross-examined, and the facts as far as I can ascertain haven't been established.

I realize that the rules of this committee may not recognize my objection, but I feel duty bound to make it.

Mr. MOULDER. This document, briefly, refers to your Communist Party activities, such as being the chairman of the Communist Party of Georgia, in which you spoke on behalf of the Communist Party of Georgia over station WATL and distributed a leaflet entitled "The 1948 Elections; the People Must Act."

Now, at the present time, are we to understand that you reside in Boston?

Mr. CHASE. That is correct.

Mr. MOULDER. And you claim the protection of the Constitution in refusing to answer questions concerning whether or not you are now a member of the Communist Party, or an official of the Communist Party at the present time?

Mr. CHASE. That is correct.

Mr. MOULDER. Any other questions?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes. We have several, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chase, the Massachusetts Commission on Subversive Activities, in its 1958 report, prints an account of the New England District 1 convention of the Communist Party. At this convention the district elected delegates to the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, the latter being held in February 1957, and the report prints an account to the effect that you were nominated, but not elected, as one of the delegates to the National Convention.

Will you explain by what procedure you were able to attend the National Convention as a delegate from the State of Massachusetts?

Mr. CHASE. Well, I am forced to enter an objection to this question, because it hasn't been established that I was a delegate. You see, you know that this is not a proper question in any court of law in the United States.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you a delegate to the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, held February 1957, in the City of New York?

Mr. CHASE. And I think I have already declined to answer that question.

Mr. NITTLE. And were you in fact at that convention a delegate from the New England District?

Mr. CHASE. I would be forced to decline.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chase, you were selected for membership on the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States as a result of action taken at a subsequent convention, the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party, which was held in New York City December 10th to 13th, 1959, were you not?

Mr. CHASE. For the reasons given previously, in my testimony, I would decline to answer that question.

I wonder if I could make a brief statement at this time?

Mr. NITTLE. In fact, you had membership on the National Committee, which is the highest governing board of the Communist Party of the United States, with the exception of the National Convention itself? ¹

Mr. CHASE. Well——

¹ See Exhibit No. 31, p. 2384, Appendix (Part 4) of the hearings, The Northern California District of the Communist Party, Structure—Objectives—Leadership, May-June 1960, San Francisco, California, which shows that Chase's membership on the National Committee of the Communist Party was a matter of the committee's public records.

Mr. NITTLE. And had been, in fact, a delegate to the National Convention. Is that not correct?

Mr. CHASE. Whether it is or is not, I would not care to answer the question.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you claim your constitutional privileges?

Mr. CHASE. That is right. And here I would like to say——

Mr. NITTLE. Now, we want to proceed.

Mr. CHASE. Could I enter a brief statement here on this whole question, that I think might simplify matters?

Mr. NITTLE. There is no question pending, Mr. Chase, at the present time. I will, however, give you a question to which we would ask you to reply.

At the time you were named to National Committee membership, were you a member of the National Committee as a representative of the New England District of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHASE. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us whether you know what states comprise the New England District of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHASE. What states?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mr. CHASE. No, I wouldn't.

Mr. NITTLE. Is your answer in fact, "No"?

Mr. CHASE. I wouldn't enter into that.

Mr. NITTLE. You do not wish to respond to the question?

Mr. CHASE. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Would I be correct in saying that the New England District of the Communist Party includes all of the New England States with the exception of Connecticut?

Mr. CHASE. I wouldn't care to comment whether you are correct or incorrect.

You see, my objections here are not only limited to the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. NITTLE. Does the Communist Party, as Mr. McNamara indicated in his testimony, determine the district area in accordance with the strength of the membership of the party in the area to be served?

Could you tell us something about the situation in the New England States, as to why the New England District comprises all of the New England States with the exception of the State of Connecticut, and whether or not the State of Connecticut is constituted in a separate district?

Mr. CHASE. You mentioned Mr. McNamara in the question. Just what are the qualifications of Mr. McNamara on this subject?

Mr. MOULDER. The question is——

Mr. CHASE. I heard the gentleman. You said he testified yesterday. And his name is included in the question. Now, I think that in order to have a question which a witness might possibly respond to in a responsive fashion, I should know, and I don't know—perhaps it is because I haven't read the papers carefully, and so on—just who is Mr. McNamara, where he comes from, and what his qualifications are, as a witness, an authority on political parties.

Mr. MOULDER. Well, let's take the statement that was made and forget that Mr. McNamara made it. Let's assume I made the statement.

Mr. CHASE. Oh, Mr. McNamara is no longer in the picture?

Mr. MOULDER. Could you tell us about the establishment of the party bureaueracy in the various State areas?

Mr. CHASE. Well, no, I could not.

Mr. MOULDER. You could not, or you will not?

Mr. CHASE. I will not.

Mr. MOULDER. And I assume that that is on the basis of the same privilege, the constitutional privilege?

Mr. CHASE. Well, that is true, and also because this is a very difficult place to really come up with answers on. For instance, democratic centralism was discussed here before. Now, democratic centralism—

Mr. MOULDER. I am sorry, but we have a limited amount of time, and there is no question pending. However, I will proceed, if you will allow me.

Mr. CHASE. I was asking to further explain my answer to this question.

Mr. MOULDER. All right.

Mr. CHASE. Well, on this question of democratic centralism, which was discussed here, now, I think that we should understand that almost every organization in the United States that is national in scope proceeds and organizes itself on the basis of democratic centralism, including the American Legion, religious societies, churches, trade unions, et cetera. Democratic centralism, as I understand it, is a setup whereby you have effective leadership at the same time you get effective opinions from down below.

Mr. BRUCE. Is this the Communist Party definition of democratic centralism?

Mr. CHASE. Well, it is Homer Chase's definition, the man you subpoenaed, of democratic centralism. And as a student, I would think that this is Lenin's—very roughly and crudely. I didn't put it as roughly as Lenin or Stalin, who has been maligned here in shameful fashion.

Mr. BRUCE. Do you believe that Stalin and Lenin have been maligned before this committee?

Mr. CHASE. That is right. I think especially these references to Stalin, one of the great leaders of World War II, and who, together with leaders of our own country, smashed Hitler fascism—I think they are completely out of place. And I think that this is not the place for them, and I don't think it does honor to this committee or any other committee to entertain such.

Mr. BRUCE. You have opened this subject, and on the basis of this you undoubtedly are greatly affronted by Mr. Khrushchev's attacks upon Stalin?

Mr. CHASE. I don't know if "affronted" is the word.

Mr. BRUCE. Disturbed?

Mr. CHASE. Much of what has been said by Mr. Khrushchev and other people I don't think is going to correspond to, or does correspond to, the facts of history, or is useful to the world working class movement.

Mr. BRUCE. Would you care to define the use of that term, "the world working class movement"?

Mr. CHASE. We have a situation where—I have a clipping in my pocket—you have capitalists owning great ownership in South America, et cetera. The working class also has to make efforts.

Mr. BRUCE. Speaking of the world working class movement, you are referring generally to Communist parties world wide?

Mr. CHASE. I would certainly include Communist parties in the world organization of the working classes. They have been very successful in leading the working class in many areas.

Mr. BRUCE. Have you ever had instructions in the Communist Party?

Mr. CHASE. Have I, personally?

Mr. BRUCE. Yes.

Mr. CHASE. Well, that question I wouldn't care to, for the reasons given, go into; because, you see, it is not what I—anything that I have done. And I have made my share of mistakes. I have no apologies to make. I have no apologies to make for it. But the facts of life are that when I start on organizational activity I involve other people.

Mr. BRUCE. Am I correct in assuming that you feel that the Communist Party, U.S.A., perhaps has made a mistake in twisting with the Khrushchev line against Stalin?

Mr. CHASE. I think that anyone who doesn't recognize that the attacks on Stalin are attacks on the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is a necessary part of the working class holding control—

Mr. BRUCE. You are saying that Khrushchev is attacking the proletariat?

Mr. CHASE. Well, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the theory. I didn't say—I said "anyone." I didn't specify Khrushchev at this time.

Mr. BRUCE. Khrushchev is the one who has attacked Stalin.

Mr. CHASE. I think the changing of Stalingrad to Volgograd, or whatever it is, is bound to encourage the warmongers, particularly in Germany. And I know what the name Stalingrad meant to the German militarists. I was there in World War II. And I think that the attacks on Stalin—and now, I heard over the radio, on Gottwald of Czechoslovakia—are not in the interest of advancing the working class either in this country or in any other country.

Mr. BRUCE. When you say "the working class," you mean the Communist parties world wide?

Mr. CHASE. No, no, no. I don't exclude the Communist Party from the working class. You see, if you wiped out, by some wave of your wand, the Communist Party of the United States, every member, the class struggle in the United States would produce a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement. It produced it before the Russian revolution, before the Chinese revolution, and it certainly—

I think I have made my point: that you are dealing with the objective situation, which inevitably moves in certain directions. And the struggle between the working class and the capitalist class produces a vanguard organization, call it what you may. And no act of Congress can stop it.

I am sorry. I wanted to say that, as long as I am down here.

Mr. BRUCE. With your eulogy of Stalin, I believe Stalin has said that the Communist Party is the vanguard of the working class. Do you agree with Mr. Stalin?

Mr. CHASE. I think that that concept, as applied and carried out by Stalin—who can disagree with it? Look at what Stalin did. He took an illiterate country, a backward country, and under the dictatorship of the proletariat brought it up to the point where they were able to beat Hitler, develop heavy industry.

Mr. BRUCE. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to which you refer, were not many millions of people slaughtered in the Soviet Union?

Mr. CHASE. Well, people were slaughtered in the Soviet Union by Hitler, but——

Mr. BRUCE. I am speaking of Mr. Khrushchev in the Ukraine, when he was one of Stalin's right-hand men.

Mr. CHASE. Well, I have always regarded Stalin as an outstanding humanist, and I don't think there was any slaughter in the Ukraine. We used to read these headlines——

Mr. BRUCE. I rest my interrogation at that point.

Mr. CHASE. We used to read these headlines from Riga, one time in Finland, about all these peasants dying, and everybody was dying in Russia, and they came out about every week in the *Boston American*, sometimes in the *Herald*. But lo and behold, it seems they had a lot of people left there in spite of all these stories.

Mr. BRUCE. The poor ones, that is.

Mr. CHASE. May I comment on this also—I am commenting on an official document, which you might like to hear my opinions on.

Mr. BRUCE. I have ended my interrogation.

Mr. MOULDER. Any other questions?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

I note in the questioning by the committee members, I believe you expressed approval of Stalin. Perhaps you will agree with what Khrushchev himself said about Stalin prior to his famous statement of condemnation in February 1956. As I read this, I want to see whether you agree with what Khrushchev then said.

One of Khrushchev's earlier statements about Stalin, which I quote, was made in 1939, at the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. At that time, Khrushchev said:

“Long live the greatest genius of humanity, our teacher and leader, victoriously guiding us toward Communism, our beloved Stalin.”¹

Then in 1946—Khrushchev said in a speech at the Republican Conference of Leaders of Agriculture in the Ukraine:

Hail the leader of our Party, the leader of our people, the organizer of victory, our great Stalin!

And as late as the fall of 1952, which was a little over 3 years before Khrushchev made his famous de-Stalinization speech to the 20th Congress, he said to the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

Long live the wise leader of the Party and the people, the inspirer and organizer of all our victories, Comrade Stalin!

Now, when was Khrushchev correct—at the 19th Congress, or at the 20th Congress?

Mr. MOULDER. What is the question?

Mr. CHASE. Yes, he has two questions in there.

Mr. MOULDER. Are you asking the witness to make a comment on that statement?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Would you make a comment on those quotations?

Mr. CHASE. Well, I think that—of course, you mention me. Would I agree? I am speaking as an American student, a humble student,

¹ HCUA, *Facts on Communism*, Vol. II, p. 156 (Dec. 1960), H. Doc. 139, 87th Cong.

as one who has read Stalin and read the speeches of Khrushchev and read Lenin and read others, and I would say that

Of course, Khrushchev was speaking as a colleague of Stalin, and I speak as I describe myself.

Mr. MOULDER. You speak as what?

Mr. CHASE. As I describe myself, as an American who has studied the works and writings of these people.

By and large, I would think that Khrushchev's valuation of Stalin as an inspirer and organizer of victories has to be signed as correct. It has proved correct. And I don't think anybody questions it. No student of history questions it. Of course, George Bernard Shaw says history will tell lies, as usual.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you express yourself along that line at Communist Party meetings in this country?

I ask you: Do you so express yourself at Communist Party meetings in this country?

Mr. CHASE. Well, I——

The Communist Party meetings have not been established. If you are going to insist——

Mr. MOULDER. I am asking you now. It is a direct question.

Mr. CHASE. I am not going to answer that. I will add that I express myself anywhere I am along these lines, if that would satisfy you.

Mr. MOULDER. Including Communist Party meetings?

Mr. CHASE. I didn't say including Communist Party meetings. I said anywhere that I am and to whoever I talk to. Coming down on the plane today if the fellow next to me had started this subject, I would have told him that.

Mr. NITTLE. As a matter of fact, Mr. Chase, was it not precisely your view of Stalin, which was contrary to present Communist Party policy, the very reason you were recently disciplined by the Communist Party of the United States and removed from your position as organizational director of the New England District of the Communist Party?

Mr. MOULDER. Do you have an answer to make to that?

Mr. CHASE. Yes, I think I have to invoke my constitutional rights.

Mr. MOULDER. All right.

Any other questions?

Mr. NITTLE. With permission of the chairman, the questioning is expected to continue for approximately another half hour or so.

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will recess until 2:30 p.m.

(Whereupon, at 12:25 p.m., Tuesday, November 21, 1961, the committee recessed, to reconvene at 2:30 p.m. the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1961

(The hearings were reconvened at 2:30 p.m., Mr. Moulder presiding.)

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will be in order.

The committee recalls Mr. Chase.

You may proceed, Mr. Nittle.

TESTIMONY OF HOMER B. CHASE—Resumed

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chase, you were subjected to disciplinary action by the Communist Party organization this year, were you not?

Mr. CHASE. Well, at the risk of boring you with repeated answers, I feel that this is an invasion of my rights as an individual.

Mr. MOULDER. Could you speak out a little more?

Mr. CHASE. I do not feel this question is pertinent, as I understand, to the purposes of this committee and I would refuse to answer it under the fifth and first.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you, Mr. Chase, this reproduction of an article which appeared in *The Worker*, January 29, 1961, which will be identified as Exhibit 2. The article states that actions taken by the National Committee of the Communist Party during a meeting over the last weekend included the unanimous removal of—and now I quote from the article—“Homer Chase, former district organizer of New England, from the national committee for persistent violation of party policy * * *.”

Mr. Chase, would you describe to the committee the circumstances which led to your ouster from the top councils of the Communist Party in this country?

Mr. CHASE. No, I would not.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you refuse to do so on the basis of the constitutional privileges you have asserted in the course of this hearing?

Mr. CHASE. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the document be introduced into the record.

Mr. MOULDER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked “Chase Exhibit No. 2” and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. The grounds for your ouster, Mr. Chase, are given as “persistent violation of party policy.”

Would you tell us in what manner you violated party policy?

Mr. CHASE. No, I wouldn't care to go into that question.

I would like to say this, that I think that perhaps you are not trying, but the net result is that the questions as they are being put and in light of the testimony by other witnesses, Mr. McNamara, for one, you are attempting to give the impression that there is something odd, subversive, strange about differences within the left-wing progressive movement.

Mr. MOULDER. If there isn't, why don't you answer the question? You are claiming the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. CHASE. And I think, also, that you are giving the impression—I don't say you are trying; I don't make charges loosely—that the discussions which, so far as I know, were held openly in the left-wing press and so on, on the question of President Kennedy and whether he was a lesser evil and whether the peace aspirations of the people and the defense of the rights of other countries could be defended and advanced in the interest of the working class and the Negro people by supporting Kennedy.

Mr. MOULDER. You are going clearly far afield.

Mr. CHASE. This discussion was out in the open.

Mr. MOULDER. You are claiming the discussion was in the open. If you will permit the answer, we will let you make any soapbox speech you want to make, but until you do answer the question, you should not be permitted to carry on your theory of the controversy within the Communist Party.

Mr. CHASE. It seems to me I should have a right to make a statement in order that my presence here would not be used for purposes——

Mr. MOULDER. It is not responsive to the question. The question asked you was to explain how you were expelled from an official position in the top ranks of the Communist Party and you have not answered that question. You claimed the privilege under the Constitution. Evidently, you want to make a speech about it.

Mr. CHASE. As I already indicated, if I were a Member of Congress, I would not think it fit to investigate into the democratic affairs of the Democratic Party or the Republican Party or any other minority party and I have to object to this as an American citizen.

Mr. MOULDER. Is the Communist Party a recognized political party in this country?

Mr. CHASE. I recognize it. I think it exists and I think it has a history.

Mr. MOULDER. Ask the next question.

Mr. NITTLE. Prior to your removal or expulsion as a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, you had been removed from your leadership of the large New England District of the Communist Party, had you not?

Mr. MOULDER. It calls for either a direct answer or a refusal to answer under your protections as provided by the Constitution.

Mr. CHASE. There is no possibilities for an objection to these questions because I only have a layman's knowledge of the court of law, but isn't it true when a fact has not been proved, to base further questions on an unproved fact or an unproved question puts certainly the person in the witness stand in a very strange position? But in any case——

Mr. BRUCE. I request that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is directed to respond to the question.

Mr. CHASE. I consider it an invasion of my rights as an American citizen and I decline to answer.

Mr. NITTLE. I would like you to look at the reproduction of another document which we identify as Chase Exhibit No. 3. This document is a three-page mimeographed letter, dated October 1960, and addressed, "To the Members of the New England District." It is signed by the "National Secretariat (CPUSA)," the five-man Politburo which represented the pinnacle of leadership in the Communist Party of the United States.

The letter deals entirely with the activities of one Homer B. Chase. I am sure the contents are already well known to you. This letter from the top National Secretariat makes certain charges against you. You are aware of these charges, are you not, as set forth in that letter?

Mr. CHASE. Well, I haven't read the letter. I mean it is a rather lengthy document. Do you wish me to peruse it?

Mr. MOULDER. Yes. We will give you time to read it.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. MOULDER. Let the record show that the witness is examining the document to which counsel has just referred.

Mr. NITTLE. I see that you have concluded your examination of the document. Are you now prepared to answer the question?

Mr. CHASE. May I ask one question for clarity?

Mr. MOULDER. Do you mean for a clarification of the question?

Mr. CHASE. Yes. This seems to deal—the contents of this document—

Mr. MOULDER. What is the question?

Mr. NITTLE. The question, Mr. Chairman, was, is he aware of the charges, set forth in that document, against Homer B. Chase.

Mr. MOULDER. Against Homer B. Chase?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. What clarification do you wish?

Mr. CHASE. The document submitted to me seems to allege that I have attacked Adlai Stevenson and other Democratic Party leaders. Is that why I have been subpoenaed to Washington?

Mr. MOULDER. Are you the Homer B. Chase referred to in this document?

Mr. CHASE. I wouldn't know.

Mr. MOULDER. If you refer to it in that manner, then you admit that you are the Homer B. Chase referred to?

Mr. CHASE. I said this alleged document seems to allege on the question per se, I would definitely decline to answer this.

Mr. NITTLE. In that document issued by the National Secretariat of the Communist Party, you are accused of conduct which "is not that of a responsible Party leader," but "what would be expected from adventurers and provocateurs."

That is a rather strong allegation, Mr. Chase. Do you accept it as a statement of fact?

(Representative Moulder left the hearing room.)

Mr. CHASE. I cannot accept the document, nor the statements within it, as a statement of fact.

(Document marked "Chase Exhibit No. 3." See Appendix pp. 751-753.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chase, over the several months preceding the issuance of this October 1960 letter of the National Secretariat, you are accused therein of having "established a record of repeated opposition on major policy questions" during your attendance at meetings of the National Committee of the party. Whom did you oppose?

Mr. CHASE. I would decline to answer that question for the reasons given hitherto.

Mr. NITTLE. You were a member of the National Committee and, as such, a representative of your party district on the National Committee. Did you not have as much voice in the party policies as the other members of the National Committee?

Mr. CHASE. I again repeat that I do not understand what you are driving at, what the reason is for this question, what you are trying to bring out—

Mr. BRUCE (presiding). I would direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. CHASE. If I were in a court of law I would object to the question, but again, I would invoke the rights given to me, whatever rights I have, to refuse to answer such a question.

Mr. NITTLE. Does not the action taken in your disciplinary case demonstrate that the autocratic nature of the Communist Party, clearly revealed by Communists for a brief period between 1956 and 1958, has been unchanged to date?

Mr. CHASE. I object to the question. It has not been proved that there is a case. We have one document, from whence it comes no one knows, or a photostatic copy of a document, and Mr. Bruce, I object to the question and ask that the attorney be restrained from asking further questions along this line.

Mr. BRUCE. Repeat the question.

Mr. NITTLE. Would the reporter read the question?

(Reporter read from the record as requested.)

Mr. BRUCE. I rule the question is pertinent to the hearing and I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. CHASE. I must refuse to answer the question under my rights of the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. That letter of the National Secretariat made certain specific charges, namely: that you opposed the party's electoral policy; that every meeting of your party district committee between March 1960 and October 1960 "has been taken up with the introduction of documents calling for a reversal of the national policy"; and that you called for a boycott of the 1960 presidential elections although "this tactic has been plainly repudiated by the Party."

Were you guilty of these crimes against the Communist Party leadership?

Mr. CHASE. Without accepting the last phrase, I can very proudly say that I urged upon the working class a boycott of the election and then of the Negro people and whoever I could influence because it seemed to me that neither Mr. Nixon nor Mr. Kennedy was anything but carrying forward the program of Mr. Rockefeller, and I, not agreeing with the program of Mr. Rockefeller, feeling that it boded ill for my class and country, urged a boycott of both of those candidates, and I would remind you that it was said that Mr. Rockefeller could have run on the Democratic ticket and then he called in the Vice President of the United States, gave him an all-night lecture, and they refused.

Mr. BRUCE. That is not pertinent to the question.

Mr. CHASE. It seems to me pertinent. That is the best I can answer it.

Mr. BRUCE. You avoided the pertinent part of the question.

Mr. CHASE. Which was what, the last phrase there?

Mr. NITTLE. In taking the position which you have just explained, was that not taken in opposition to the national policy of the Communist Party, and was not opposition to national party policy the precise reason for your expulsion from the National Committee and your removal as organizer for the New England District of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHASE. This is something that, obviously, I would be in no position to answer if I thought the question was valid and was not infringing on the rights of the innocent and involving me in prosecutions I cannot afford—

Mr. BRUCE. Are you invoking the first and fifth amendments?

Mr. CHASE. I am.

Mr. NITTLE. The National Secretariat of the Communist Party sets forth that you have also been guilty of "an unceasing stream of attack and slander against the national leadership," for you allegedly characterize the leaders as "usurpers of power" and "guilty of dishonesty and worse." Quoting further, "In short," states the letter, "the party leadership is habitually referred to by Comrade Chase and his

followers in language which is customarily reserved for the most dangerous enemies of the Party and the working class.”

Were you guilty of this name-calling?

Mr. CHASE. Name-calling? Do you mean that specific name-calling?

Mr. NITTLE. As alleged in the letter of the National Secretariat to the New England party members.

Mr. CHASE. This is still from the document that you submitted here—and it is clear that the authorship—you are not saying that I wrote this, are you?

Mr. NITTLE. You know very well that is a photostatic reproduction of the very letter that was circulated by the National Secretariat among the New England members, do you not?

Mr. CHASE. I think I decline to answer that question.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chase, was not the real leadership of the Communist Party of the United States in this very five-man Secretariat which sent that communication to the New England members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHASE. The very real leadership?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mr. CHASE. I don't even know just what you are referring to here now.

Mr. NITTLE. You were a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party and presumably a part of the national leadership?

Mr. CHASE. And, therefore, you conclude that since we haven't established that, that we should go on on the basis of the nonestablishment of that and that I should answer this question. Well, I would decline to discuss that under the rights.

Mr. NITTLE. The National Secretariat, in its bill of particulars against you, explains that the Dorchester Club had appealed to the national leadership to intervene because you, their district leader, were distributing a newsletter with statements contrary to party policy. The National Secretariat further states it then adopted a motion calling for an end to “the flaunting of Party policy” in New England by yourself and your supporters. The motion stated that if you did not obey “the Secretariat calls on the district to elect a leadership which will.” The power of the Secretariat is pretty clearly revealed here, isn't it?

Mr. CHASE. I understand that that is your opinion.

Mr. NITTLE. I am asking for your opinion, for your knowledge.

Mr. CHASE. My knowledge?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mr. CHASE. I would not care to discuss the question before this committee.

Mr. NITTLE. On what basis do you refuse to respond to the inquiry?

Mr. CHASE. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. I say on what basis?

Mr. CHASE. On the basis of the first and fifth amendments and on the basis that I think that this committee is a little like King Canute trying to hold back the tide. I don't want to make you appear more absurd than you are.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you say the same thing of the Communist Party policy which you are charged with flaunting?

Mr. CHASE. Sometimes I am accused of flaunting a great many people and forces.

Mr. NITTLE. The National Secretariat has also charged that you have been "guilty of irresponsible anti-Soviet statements, implying that the Soviet Union is guilty of a racist approach to the Chinese people."

At the regional meeting of the National Committee, you are charged with saying that "by taking part in the Olympics, the Soviet Union was guilty of participating in the rape of Taiwan!"

Mr. CHASE. I have never said that the Soviet Union was guilty of participating in the rape of Taiwan, and I have never accused the Soviet Union in any connection of racist attitudes.

Mr. NITTLE. In such event, the National Secretariat was in error in making those charges against you in this circular letter. Is that what you mean to say?

Mr. CHASE. I think I said what I meant to say very clearly. Limited as I am, inarticulate as I may be——

Mr. NITTLE. There is a difference of opinion between the National Secretariat and you as to what was actually said. Is that correct?

Mr. CHASE. I never regarded my relationships with other people—I regard them as important.

Mr. NITTLE. According to the Secretariat's circular letter, your removal was not as easy as they had anticipated because the New England District which you headed held a meeting and rejected the command of the Secretariat.

Then the Secretariat further reveals that it had been forced to refer the case to the next meeting of the National Committee. The Secretariat's letter of October 1960, however, appeals once more to party members in your district, "to repudiate the actions of Comrade Chase and those who support him, and to take steps to establish a leadership which will fight for the line of the Party." But, apparently, you were ousted from your district leadership before the National Committee took up your case and voted your expulsion from the National Committee in January 1961.

Now, will you tell us how the Secretariat finally succeeded in removing you from your functionary duties in the New England District of the party?

Mr. CHASE. Well, this collection of conclusions that you base your question on, the preface to the question——

Mr. NITTLE. Is the preface a statement of fact, or isn't it?

Mr. CHASE. Well, there is no question but that many of these conclusions that you have drawn, not all of them, colored in such a way that I think you are giving a wrong impression to the committee for which you serve.

As to the specific question, I must invoke the rights that have been discussed.

Mr. NITTLE. Is there any question now in your mind, Mr. Chase, that the Communist Party of the United States is today presently firmly adhering to the Leninist principles and policies of democratic centralism and monolithic unity?

Mr. CHASE. Well, one would hope that all working class parties are attempting to achieve monolithic unity in following the Leninist line of democratic centralism.

Mr. BRUCE. You did not answer the question.

Mr. CHASE. It may be that I am not equipped to answer such a question. I make this observation in the hope that it would further the understanding—because in the opinion of this witness whom you subpoenaed to Washington, I consider it important for the peace of the world, for the great changes that are taking place and will take place—the working class followers.

Mr. NITTLE. There will be other opportunities for making speeches, but would you please answer the question?

Mr. CHASE. Making speeches is not limited to me.

Mr. NITTLE. Apparently you were not able to make them in the Communist Party, although you seem to be able to make them here.

Mr. CHASE. You infer that I am frustrated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did not the National Secretariat in this document which we are discussing, warn your district members that actions taken in support of your views violated democratic centralism and party discipline; and weren't your views denounced as being "sectarian"?

Mr. CHASE. And that is a question?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes. Did they not so warn your district?

Mr. CHASE. I decline to answer this question.

Mr. NITTLE. On what ground do you decline to answer the question?

Mr. CHASE. Well, first, I decline it because I think the American people and the Congress should pay for attention to theoretical questions of Marxism and Leninism that are imposed upon a witness here. I cannot answer them without being misunderstood and surely, you don't want a witness to come before you and leave a false impression. And then, you are referring to a specific document, the validity of which I have not admitted nor accepted—

Mr. NITTLE. Nor have you denied its acceptance.

Mr. CHASE. Neither accepted nor denied and, therefore, I have to invoke the privilege.

Mr. NITTLE. Perhaps you can avoid some misunderstanding by giving your interpretation of some of this language. What was meant by this charge against you of "sectarianism"? What does that mean in Communist jargon?

Mr. CHASE. Mao Tse-tung, the outstanding Marxist-Leninist, says that the Communists call people revisionists who weaken the working party. He said that a struggle has to be put up against dogmatism and sectarianism but that the main danger at this time is revisionism.

Mr. NITTLE. Khrushchev also made similar statements. I note in the 81 Communist parties' manifesto, which was issued in December of last year, it is said, "Dogmatism and sectarianism in theory and practice can also become the main danger at some stage of development of individual parties, unless combated unrelentingly. * * * they isolate Communists from the broad masses of the working people, doom them to passive expectation or leftist, adventurist actions in the revolutionary struggle, prevent them from making a timely and correct estimate of the changing situation * * *."

Can you tell us what that double-talk means?

Mr. CHASE. In the first place, you are somewhat quoting it out of context. You see, they said originally that the main danger—

Mr. NITTLE. You have discussed what Mao Tse-tung meant by sectarianism. I am asking if you can tell us what Khrushchev means on the same subject.

Mr. CHASE. What are you quoting from here?

Mr. NITTLE. The 81 party manifesto.

Mr. CHASE. That is not necessarily Khrushchev. There were Communist parties from all over the world in attendance there but I can tell you—

Mr. NITTLE. Just a moment. Let us explore that. Khrushchev is the leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union?

Mr. CHASE. Before you get off on that, I can explain to you in rather simple language, in my own simple language. That, of course, as the national liberation struggles, working class struggles become more intense, as the efforts of the monopolists and materialists become more intense to hold on to what they got, the status quo, their influence creates within the working class certain problems and certain ideologies which tend to deflect the working class from effective—and the vanguard parties has used the terms dogmatism and sectarianism [to describe these ideologies] and the other is revisionism, which is revising the teaching of Marx, Lenin, Mao Tse-tung.

Mr. NITTLE. You didn't mention Khrushchev.

Mr. CHASE. Is it my understanding that this committee is supporting Khrushchev's criticism of Stalin? I don't want to suggest that this committee will be investigated.

Mr. NITTLE. No. We are merely inquiring as to the reasons for your expulsion from positions of leadership, and as to the organization and practices of the Communist Party, making particular reference to and exploring its monolithic character.

Mr. CHASE. Monolithic?

Mr. NITTLE. Did you not depart from this line by adopting the Stalinist view as opposed to the Khrushchev view? Was not that the reason for your expulsion?

Mr. CHASE. Modesty—I don't want to talk about myself all the time plus the fact I don't want to get involved in some legal procedures, plus the other limitations, I would invoke the first and fifth on this specific part of the question. I think I have given you a good healthy answer on the other question, the germ of it.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chase, in an attempt to underline the necessity for your removal from leadership in the Communist Party, this same letter of the Secretariat called attention to General Secretary Gus Hall's statement at the party's 17th National Convention in December 1959, which they quote, "Above all—and of crucial importance—emerging from the 17th Convention is the fact that we have *one* party, *one* policy and *one* direction * * *."

The Secretariat further declared—reminded you of the convention statement—that "Party unity is our most precious possession."

In view of that, I ask you, is there any room for dissent in the Communist Party organization?

Mr. CHASE. Well, as a student of this writings and teachings, contemporary events, I would have to say that there was room for more room for dissent, for real discussion on real problems within the parties of the working class than there ever was or could be in the parties of the capitalist class and you have to speak relatively. It is not the only party that exists.

Mr. NITTLE. Apparently, you were expelled from leadership of the Communist Party because of that expression of view. Is that not correct?

Mr. CHASE. I don't want to quote Shakespeare that all the world is a stage; one man in his time plays many parts.

Mr. NITTLE. I am surprised that you are quoting a non-Marxist.

Mr. CHASE. Actually, for Shakespeare to have been a Marxist would be rather difficult. He was ahead of his time, Shakespeare, in that respect.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, would you respond to the question. We will return to the issue.

Mr. CHASE. I would decline to answer that question under the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. The Secretariat in this statement also noted——

Mr. CHASE. Also, in that——

Mr. NITTLE. Also noted in that statement, to which we have referred as Exhibit 3—do you wish to have this exhibit before you?

Mr. CHASE. Since we are laying great credence to it——

Mr. NITTLE. We will pass it to you.

Mr. CHASE. We always have to take into account that some provocateur or agent or personal enemy of people named might write one of these things. That is another reason why you have to use the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Let me come back to the statement, which says that in weathering "the most severe crisis in its history," there had been defeated two types of party deviation—"the onslaught of revisionism" and "the assaults of the ultra-left dogmatists."

Your views in the Secretariat letter of October 1960 are labeled "sectarian," as previously noted, an expression which appeared to be used interchangeably by the party with "ultra-left dogmatists."

In your removal from party office, Mr. Chase, the party would say that they had eliminated another "ultra-left dogmatist," is that not correct?

Mr. CHASE. Certainly, I am not equipped to answer that question as to what someone else would say. At the most, I express my own opinions.

Mr. NITTLE. You can't tell us anything about that inquiry?

Mr. CHASE. I didn't say that. Although I have said that also, that I don't feel that it would be correct for me to do so under the circumstances.

Mr. NITTLE. In party parlance, you are at the opposite pole from the "revisionists" or the "right deviationists" who are also sometimes referred to as "autonomists."

Mr. CHASE. As what?

Mr. NITTLE. That is the crime of which dissenters of the John Gates variety, including preceding witnesses on the stand, Robert Friedman and Leon Nelson, were allegedly guilty. Is that correct?

Mr. CHASE. It beats me.

Mr. NITTLE. Didn't you acquire some familiarity with Communist dialectics in your many, many years of party service, as an organizer in the South, as an organizer of the entire New England District, as a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party? Are you sincere in telling us that you can't help us in this inquiry because you don't know?

Mr. CHASE. I haven't said I don't know. I am not implying that I don't know.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chase, if you do know, perhaps you will answer this question——

Mr. CHASE. This committee is not really representing the needs of the American people, or even attempting to, under this inquiry.

Mr. NITTLE. That is your opinion.

Mr. CHASE. I swore to tell the whole truth. I should express it honestly.

Mr. NITTLE. Perhaps you will give us your opinion——

Mr. CHASE. It serves no useful purpose.

Mr. NITTLE. Perhaps you will give us your opinion on this question.

Mr. CHASE. I thought you wanted to listen to my constructive criticism.

Mr. NITTLE. Isn't it a fact that in the Communist movement, here as well as abroad, viewpoints which are opposed to the then prevailing leadership have been lumped together either in one category or the other, previously referred to as being either "revisionist" or "sectarian"?

Mr. CHASE. What are the last two words?

Mr. NITTLE. "Revisionist" and "opportunist" are the terms commonly applied to those Communists who allegedly deviate to the right of the "correct" Communist theory and policy; "sectarian" and "dogmatist" are terms employed against deviationists whose views are considered ultra-left or ultra-revolutionary.

Mr. CHASE. There is no question since Marx and Engels first developed the science of Marxism that this has been a problem for the Marxists throughout the world, and that the resolving of it always steels and strengthens the parties as they go along.

These aren't profane words that you are dealing with. These are problems that spring out of real life, real struggles, real issues.

Mr. NITTLE. Is the Communist and Leninist doctrine of the denial of the existence of God a profane view?

Mr. CHASE. You see here, you are entering into a discussion on theology which is obviously proscribed by the first amendment and the writings in no way of Marx, Engels——

Mr. NITTLE. I am not asking you about your personal beliefs. I am asking you about the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Mr. CHASE. I object and I think I do so in defense of the rights of freedom and religions of all Americans, and I am proud to act in their behalf in my limited fashion and ask that you be overruled on that question.

Mr. NITTLE. Does not the Communist Party consider that view a deviation from party doctrine?

Mr. CHASE. I take it that you grant that the question you asked previously was incorrect. Now what?

Mr. NITTLE. I haven't done so. I have asked you whether your view on freedom of religion is Communist policy, or a deviation from that policy.

Mr. CHASE. I think there is actually more freedom of religion certainly developed where the working class is in power than there has ever been when the capitalists or the feudalists have been in power and I submit to you the history of Joan of Arc for the feudalists. She didn't enjoy much of it.

Mr. NITTLE. Is not a Communist with "rightist" views one who makes too many concessions to non-Communist democratic govern-

ments and ideology, which the Communist movement seeks to supplant?

Mr. CHASE. The democratic governments—I trust that is a small “d” in your question. You are not referring to the Kennedy government; you are referring to democratic, small “d” government?

Mr. NITTLE. I am referring to the Communist application of terminology, whether or not their use of the term “rightist” means getting too soft in the party struggle.

Mr. CHASE. Oh, no, not necessarily at all. That is a vulgarization of the whole question. As far as a democracy, as I understand it—

Mr. NITTLE. I am not talking about democracy. I am talking about the Communist Party’s interpretation of the expression “rightist,” an expression of their theoretical jargon.

Mr. CHASE. Do you want to know what a rightist is?

Mr. NITTLE. I have asked you whether the Communists mean by “rightist” that the line is too soft.

Mr. CHASE. Under the pressures of imperialism and their agents certain people [who] call themselves Marxists, revised the teachings and the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao. That is what that means, in the very simple language, it is very plain. It is not the full answer, but it is a very essential part of it.

Mr. NITTLE. Let’s move to the next expression, “sectarian.” That is the word comprehending the reason for which you have been replaced by the National Secretariat. It describes the radical, the man who is too wild in the movement. Is that not correct?

Mr. CHASE. Sectarian is generally used by Marxists as referring to those who advance slogans which are not realistic, not possible, which do not consider time, conditions, and place.

Mr. NITTLE. And the National Secretariat accused you of being sectarian, a dogmatist, and an adventurist. Now, those are all synonymous terms?

Mr. CHASE. I would not necessarily say they are. They are not necessarily completely identical or synonymous, but that is not the point at all, whether or not, even if we granted, which I have not granted, that Homer Chase was accused of all these points—what difference does that make? He is only one individual.

The only purpose that would help the capitalist government is if the capitalist government has representatives and agents within the working class that are able to make use of these deviations and errors. And I take it for granted that this is a capitalist government.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chase, I hand you a reproduced document which is marked Chase Exhibit 4. It is *The Worker* of August 12, 1956, which contains an article under your name.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. NITTLE. In that article, it appears you state that in the period 1949 to 1953 the party “bureaucracy” conducted an attack on the membership and secondary leadership in which:

Expulsions reached heights never dreamed of by Browder. Many more members were made ineffective because of unjustified slander. Members were expelled without steps provided for in the Party constitution, often under the guise of security or “the difficult objective situation.”

I merely ask you, Mr. Chase, if that is a correct statement and whether or not that statement is contained in *The Worker* for that date?

MR. CHASE. I would have to assign that question as an invasion of the first amendment, as a negation of the first amendment, the right of the freedom of the press, asked in this connotation and, therefore, I would refuse to answer it.

MR. BRUCE. Do you refuse to answer that on the basis of just the first amendment?

MR. CHASE. Well, it is also, of course, in my opinion, an attempt, whether conscious or not, to negate the fifth amendment, and I would also invoke the fifth amendment.

MR. BRUCE. You invoke the first and fifth?

MR. CHASE. Yes. There is no question that the freedom of the press—the intent has always been understood. Articles in the press are not open for question by the Congress.

MR. BRUCE. We wanted to clarify your answer. I wanted to be sure you meant the first and fifth amendments.

(Document marked "Chase Exhibit No. 4." See Appendix, pp. 754-756.)

MR. NITTLE. Didn't you make an unfortunate choice of words in criticizing party bureaucracy? I mean by that, isn't that criticism of bureaucracy a departure from Leninist ideology?

MR. CHASE. If you would separate those into two parts, I would answer the latter one.

MR. NITTLE. Answer the latter one; that will be satisfactory.

MR. CHASE. I would say that Lenin himself was the foremost critic of bureaucracy as an expression of bourgeoisie within the working class, so the answer would have to be no; on the contrary.

MR. NITTLE. I am going to read to you a brief excerpt from Lenin.

MR. CHASE. It is always a pleasure.

MR. NITTLE. His article, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," if I may first summarize, advocates the centralized discipline of a bureaucratically organized party, and he describes it as follows:

Bureaucracy *versus* democracy is the same thing as centralism *versus* autonomism; it is the organisational principle of revolutionary political democracy as opposed to the organisational principle of the opportunists of Social Democracy.¹

Is it not clear to you that Lenin advocates bureaucracy and charges those who resist it as autonomists, that is, individualists who do not adhere to democratic centralism?

MR. CHASE. It is far from clear to me. What he is talking about, or he might have been talking about—I am not familiar with that very short quote—but what Lenin wrote on was the ineffectiveness of the German Social Democrats, that they had all of the forms of democratic leadership but they had no principle and they use the word "democracy" to cover up the fact that they were not serving their class interests.

Incidentally, this failure of the German Social Democrats cost the lives of a lot of American boys. They would have done better to listen to Lenin more.

MR. NITTLE. Will you tell us, Mr. Chase, how is the correct party position and policy determined in the United States Communist Party?

MR. CHASE. How is it?

MR. NITTLE. Yes. How is it determined? Who lays it down?

¹ HCUA, *Facts on Communism*, Vol. I, p. 84 (Dec. 1959), House Doc. 336, 86th Cong.

Mr. CHASE. Well, one would hope that it is determined on the basis—

Mr. NITTLE. May I stop you there? We are not interested in your hopes. We are interested in what was your experience of the facts.

Mr. CHASE. My experiences don't seem to me to be able to—personal experiences are very often far from a guide to the correct answer, the personal experiences of one person. That is a subjective, individualistic approach.

Mr. BRUCE. I direct the witness to answer the question that is pending.

Mr. CHASE. The way it was posed, and I think the attorney realized that I have no choice but to invoke the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. NITTLE. Isn't it correct to say, Mr. Chase, that the correct position and policy is laid down for the Communist Party and its entire membership by the individual holding supreme power in the Soviet Union?

Mr. CHASE. Well, this, of course, has been alleged against the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. I am asking you whether this is the fact or whether it isn't from your knowledge and experience.

Mr. CHASE. From everything I have read and studied and everyone who I have talked to and seen, I would say this is a dangerous discussion and error of great multitude—

Mr. NITTLE. Let's pause a moment.

Mr. CHASE. Let me finish the question. You are asking a very pertinent question. The inference in that question is that those who seek a revolutionary solution to the problems affecting America, and they are very grave, presently the danger of a nuclear holocaust and everybody knows it, those who seek a revolutionary solution are automatically ipso facto agents of a foreign power. This is absolutely wrong and dangerous.

Mr. NITTLE. Apparently, Mr. Chase, you do not seem to be following the party line. Let me refer you to the declaration of the 81 Communist parties again, who make the statement which was quoted in the speech of Chairman Moulder yesterday afternoon. The 81-party manifesto of December 1960 sets forth:

The Communist and Workers' Parties unanimously declare that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been, and remains, the universally recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement * * *.

Do you agree with that statement?

Mr. CHASE. That has nothing to do with your former question. They are talking about theoretical contributions there and it has been obviously—

Mr. NITTLE. Do you agree with the statement of the 81 Communist Party manifesto?

Mr. CHASE. In three or four words or two sentences, do you want me to answer that question?

Mr. BRUCE. I think the question is clear. He asked whether you would agree with it or not.

Mr. CHASE. As of that date—you see, the trouble with such questions is that there obviously has been changes. The world is in a state of change and obviously the Chinese party is contributing—making major theoretical contributions in the world of Marxist-

Leninist movement, and therefore, to answer that yes or no would be impossible for this farm boy from New Hampshire.

Mr. NITTLE. As a farm boy from New Hampshire, you have done a lot of what might be called good writing while you were in the Communist Party, did you not?

Mr. CHASE. There is no question—well, you don't want me to seriously answer that.

Mr. NITTLE. You have been more than a farm boy from New Hampshire?

Mr. CHASE. Yes. A lot of farm boys from New Hampshire have been more than farm boys.

Mr. NITTLE. Abraham Lincoln was a farm boy?

Mr. CHASE. Yes. I wish more Congressmen would follow the lead of Congressman Lincoln.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHASE. Well, with all due respect, I would submit that that is beyond the province of this committee and I would invoke the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. I have no further questions.

Mr. BRUCE. The witness is dismissed.

The committee will stand in recess for 5 minutes.

(Brief recess.)

(Representative Moulder returned to the hearing room during the recess.)

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will be in order. Call your next witness, Mr. Nittle.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Alexander Bittelman.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before the committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ALEXANDER BITTELMAN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LAWRENCE SPEISER

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state your full name for the record, please?

Mr. BITTELMAN. Alexander Bittelman.

Mr. NITTLE. Where do you live?

Mr. BITTELMAN. Croton-on-Hudson, New York.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you presently employed?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I am retired.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state your age for the record?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I will be 72 come January.

Mr. NITTLE. Where were you born, Mr. Bittelman?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I was born in what was formerly known as Russia.

Mr. NITTLE. I see you are represented by counsel.

Mr. BITTELMAN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Would counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. SPEISER. I am Lawrence Speiser, with American Civil Liberties Union, 1612 "I" Street, Northwest, Washington, D.C.

Mr. NITTLE. I assume you have had an opportunity to read the Chairman's statement as to the purpose of this hearing?

Mr. BITTELMAN. Yes, I glanced through it.

Mr. NITTLE. To establish your competence to testify with reference to the subject under inquiry, I will have to go briefly through your past history.

You actually participated in the founding of the Communist Party of the United States as far back as 1919; is that correct?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I am afraid I will have to decline to answer, and I do so claiming the privileges of the fifth amendment and of the first amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. I have before me the official Communist Party newspaper, *The Worker*, dated January 25, 1948, which identifies you not only as a charter member of the Communist Party of America, but also as a national leader of the Communist Party for more than two decades. Was that 1948 article a correct statement of your party activities in this country?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I will have to decline again on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. I offer *The Worker* article as Bittelman Exhibit No. 1 for the record, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MOULDER. Without objection the document will be admitted as part of the record.

(Document marked "Bittelman Exhibit No. 1." See Appendix, pp. 757, 758.)

Mr. NITTLE. Referring to this same *Worker* article, I note that you were also credited with carrying on revolutionary activities in Russia as far back as 1908. According to the article you were deported by the Russian Czar in that year and sent to the Arctic; is that correct?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BITTELMAN. I again respectfully wish to decline on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have a personal acquaintanceship with Lenin during your Russian revolutionary days?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BITTELMAN. I must make the same reply. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you care at all to amplify your experience in the Russian revolutionary movement?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I will have to decline on the same ground respectfully.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you arrive in the United States from Russia in the year 1912?

Mr. BITTELMAN. Yes. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. Would it be a fair question to ask if you emigrated to the United States for the purpose of establishing a revolutionary movement here?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BITTELMAN. No, I don't think it is a fair question.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you, in fact, come here for the purpose of strengthening the Communist revolutionary movement in America?

Mr. BITTELMAN. In 1912?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, when you arrived.

Mr. BITTELMAN. I will decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. On what grounds do you decline?

Mr. BITTELMAN. Claiming the privileges of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. NITTLE. In the year 1919, were you not appointed by the National Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of America as a member of a committee to formulate a program, the initial one, and did you not serve for that purpose as a member of a committee jointly with others among whom were named Louis C. Fraina, D. Elbaum, Alexander I. Stoklitzky, Nicholas I. Hourwich, Dennis E. Batt, Maximilian Cohen, Jay Lovestone, and H. M. Wicks?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I respectfully decline to answer on the same ground.

Mr. NITTLE. And were you not also as far back as 1922 a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party in the United States, then known as the Workers Party of America?

Mr. BITTELMAN. Same answer.

Mr. NITTLE. You have also been editor of *The Communist*, one of the early Communist Party publications which is now known as *Political Affairs*, a theoretical organ of the present Communist Party of the United States? Is that not a correct statement?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer.

Mr. NITTLE. As a matter of fact, you have written voluminous articles for the Communist press over the past years and you specialize in Communist theory; is that not correct?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. NITTLE. As a matter of fact, you have long been recognized, and until recently, as the leading exponent of Communist theory in the United States; is that correct?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce as Bittelman Exhibit No. 2 this list of references from the Communist press showing Mr. Bittelman's membership on the National Committee of the Communist Party and the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party of America.

Mr. MOULDER. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Bittelman Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. This may be an unpleasant fact to refer to, but you were convicted under the Smith Act, were you not, in 1953, along with Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and other leaders of the Communist Party?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. And you completed a 3-year prison sentence as a result of that conviction on May 26, 1957?

Mr. BITTELMAN. The same answer.

Mr. NITTLE. I show that fact for the purpose of inquiring of you why, after the years of devoted and faithful service to the Communist movement in the United States, you should now, this year, in your old age, be expelled from membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I respectfully decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. You were engaged in Communist Party activity at the height of the very bitter party controversy which was precipitated by Khrushchev's de-Stalinization speech at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in February of 1956, were you not?

Mr. BITTELMAN. Same answer.

(Representative Moulder left the hearing room.)

Mr. NITTLE. From your long experience in the Communist Party would you say that such a struggle as was created by Khrushchev's speech had not been witnessed in the ranks of the Communist Party since the late 1920's, when disputes were ended by ouster of both the Lovestone faction, accused of right deviations, and the Cannon "left-deviationist" faction?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I must respectfully decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. You undoubtedly recall how Stalin personally and directly intervened to end the dispute that was then raging in the 1920's in the Communist Party of the United States, and directed the installation of a new leadership, monolithically subservient to the will of Moscow. Do you not recall that situation?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer on the same ground.

Mr. NITTLE. Could you tell us what knowledge you possess regarding the intervention of Moscow again to bring an end to the bitter struggle within the Communist Party of the United States and which wracked the party between the years 1956 and 1958 because of Khrushchev's de-Stalinization speech?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Did Moscow refuse to intervene in the difficulties that the Communist Party in the United States underwent?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Bittelman, I now hand you a reproduction of an article from *The Worker* dated January 29, 1961, identified as Bittelman Exhibit No. 3, which reports the actions taken by the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States at a meeting over the last weekend.

This article states that the National Committee "unanimously affirmed the expulsion of Alexander Bittelman." I also hand you a reproduction of an article from *The Worker* dated Sunday, December 4, 1960, identified as Bittelman Exhibit No. 4, which states that the Westchester (New York) Club of the Communist Party, of which Alexander Bittelman had been a member, voted unanimously on November 14, 1960, to expel him from the party. The article states the club's action was "taken on the recommendation of the National Secretariat of the Communist Party."

These actions of November 1960 and January 1961 shut you out from any participation now and hereafter in the Communist Party of the United States and of the World Communist Movement, do they not?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I must decline to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

(Document marked "Bittelman Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

(Document marked "Bittelman Exhibit No. 4." See Appendix, pp. 759, 760.)

Mr. NITTLE. Is it correct to say, Mr. Bittelman, that the loss of your membership in the Westchester (New York) club of the Communist Party, approved by the National Secretariat and approved by the National Committee of the Communist Party, means that you are actually a total outcast from any one of 80-odd Communist Party organizations in the world movement?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I didn't get that question.

(The pending question was read by the reporter.)

Mr. NITTLE. Were you outcast and barred from any further activity in the World Communist Movement?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer.

(Representative Moulder returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. NITTLE. In Exhibit 4, which you have before you, there is a statement of charges against you by the National Secretariat of the Communist Party of the United States. Exhibit 4, to which I referred, is *The Worker* of December 4, 1960. The Secretariat charges that you have now brazenly violated the party principles of democratic centralism and have been guilty of "insistent defiance of party discipline."

Would you care to explain to the committee how you defied party discipline?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. These same charges were leveled at the preceding witness, Homer Chase. Mr. Chase was accused of having a left or sectarian viewpoint while you are condemned as a revisionist or right deviationist. You are at the opposite pole from what Mr. Chase was described as being in the Communist dialectic. Would you give us your definition of those terms—"sectarian" and "revisionist" or "right deviationist"?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. How does the National Secretariat arrive at the correct decision in making its determination whether a particular member of the Communist Party is a deviationist, and whether to the right or to the left?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I must decline, respectfully, on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. The offense with which you were charged is the allegation that you proposed new theoretical principles to the party organization. Now, to quote the National Secretariat on that point, they allege that these theoretical ideas were "in direct conflict with the Party's Marxist-Leninist theoretical principles." What was the source of the so-called party theoretical principles which you, as a leading theoretician, were found guilty of abandoning?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I must decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Is that source Moscow?

Mr. BITTELMAN. Is that a question?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. BITTELMAN. I must decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you possess knowledge which would make it possible to give an answer to that question if you chose to respond?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Bittelman, let us review briefly the events leading up to the very drastic disciplinary action that was taken by the Communist Party against you.

Beginning on October 1, 1957, a series of 12 articles written by you appeared in the Communist Party newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, under the overall title "I Take a Fresh Look." In these articles you discuss the current party crisis and various Communist theoretical and programmatic concepts, such as the party's relations with the trade union movement, its view of capitalism, including, and this is most significant, a possible American road to communism.

Your major proposal is that Communists in America should work for a new, intermediate goal of a welfare state to precede what you

say must ultimately turn into an outright Communist society in this country.

This welfare state as you conceive it, would exist during a capitalistic economy, but the government, and I quote you, "assumes full responsibility for the economic and social welfare and security of the people."

Have I represented your views correctly, Mr. Bittelman?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I am sorry, Mr. Chairman, I must decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce as Bittelman Exhibit No. 5 a list of the titles and dates of various articles written by Mr. Bittelman, to which I have referred, and several of the articles. In addition, I would like to introduce, also as a part of Exhibit 5, an article from the February 1958 issue of *Political Affairs* entitled "Key Problems of Party Program," in which Mr. Bittelman further explains his views. I ask that they be incorporated in the record of the hearings.

Mr. BRUCE (presiding). Without objection, they will be admitted.

(Documents marked "Bittelman Exhibit" No. 5. See Appendix, pp. 761-780.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Bittelman, we are not interested in your personal views beyond the extent to which they will illustrate and enlighten us as to the mechanism by which the party resolves its differences. After your views were expressed and presented in the *Daily Worker* in October of 1957, William Z. Foster, in the same month proceeded to write two lengthy articles denouncing your views, and the articles were printed in issues of the Communist journal, *Political Affairs*, for December 1957 and January 1958; is that not correct?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I must decline to answer on the same ground.

Mr. NITTLE. Until this conflict split the party ranks in 1956, William Z. Foster was the national chairman of the Communist Party and its undisputed top leader, wasn't he?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. You do recall, do you not, that Foster denounced you in this article as espousing what he called the right deviationist or revisionist cause of John Gates?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I am sorry, Mr. Chairman, but I must decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Foster also charged you with emasculating the "universally valid" principles of Marxism-Leninism and likened you to Jay Lovestone, the top party leader who was expelled, as I previously mentioned, from the party back in 1929 as a right deviationist, and Earl Browder, another famous head of the party organization, who was ousted from leadership as a right deviationist in 1945.

When these persons were expelled in those years, you were in agreement, were you not, as to the characterization which the party applied to them, and you approved their removal on those grounds?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I am awfully sorry but I must decline to answer again on the same ground.

Mr. NITTLE. I would like to remind you of a statement that you made in the Communist magazine *Political Affairs*, back in October, 1946. You said:

the history of the development of the internal life of our Party is the history of struggle against opportunist and alien groups within the Party—Lovestoneism, Trotskyism, Browderism * * *.

All Communist Parties achieve their unity, ideological clarity, and strength only in constant struggle against opportunism—Right opportunism and Leftist sectarianism * * *.

You also declared at that time that—

the principles and ideology of our Party are those of Marxism-Leninism, as formulated by Lenin and Stalin * * *.

You, yourself, are now accused of deviation from Marxism-Leninism. Do you agree with the substance of the charges which have been leveled against you by the Communist Party leadership?

Mr. BITTELMAN. Same reply, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that Foster's criticism of Mr. Bittelman contained in the December 1957 and January 1958 issues of *Political Affairs* be marked Bittelman Exhibit No. 6, and incorporated in the printed record of the hearings.

I also ask that the excerpts from Mr. Bittelman's own statements in *Political Affairs* of October 1946 be marked Bittelman Exhibit No. 7, and made a part of the committee records.

Mr. BRUCE. Without objection, they will be admitted.

(Documents marked "Bittelman Exhibit No. 6." See Appendix, pp. 781-812.)

(Document marked "Bittelman Exhibit No. 7 retained in committee files.)

(Representative Schadeberg left the hearing room.)

Mr. NITTLE. After William Z. Foster accused you of fallacies and deviation from the correct line, you then wrote an answer to Foster's charge. You wrote in the February 1958 issue of *Political Affairs*, that Marxist theory was always being developed and you recognized the need to avoid right and left deviationism. You also challenged Foster for failing to offer any positive program for an "American" road to communism.

You also continued to present your views at meetings of the party's Draft Program Committee on which you held membership in 1958. This party committee, which was preparing a program for adoption at the forthcoming 17th National Convention of the Communist Party, finally adopted a statement rejecting your views as "a basic departure from Marxism-Leninism and as an expression of modern revisionism in the United States." Is that a correct statement of the facts?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I must decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the action of the Draft Program Committee, as reported in *Political Affairs*, December 1958, be marked Bittelman Exhibit No. 8 and incorporated in the hearing record.

Mr. BRUCE. Without objection, it will be incorporated in the record.

(Document marked "Bittelman Exhibit No. 8." See Appendix, pp. 813-816.)

Mr. NITTLE. The National Secretariat charges, Mr. Bittelman, that in 1959 you announced plans to publish a book expounding your views and that when the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party asked you to submit it for review to them you did, but you declared that you would publish that book irrespective of the National Committee's views.

It is stated that the National Executive Committee on October 14, 1959, informed you that the book "conflicts with fundamental Marxist

theoretical principles" and represents in some respects "a platform of struggle against the principles and policies of the Party."

The National Executive Committee thereupon warned you that:

Should you proceed in any case to publish it on your own * * * you should be fully aware from our August discussion with you what the consequences of such an act would be.

You were in 1959 threatened with expulsion, were you not, if you continued to espouse your views and publish this book contrary to theirs?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I am sorry but I must decline to answer.

Mr. NITTLE. The National Secretariat reported that your book appeared, nevertheless, in a multigraphed form in September 1960, and this is what the Secretariat stated:

By this action Bittelman has brazenly violated the Party principles of democratic centralism and taken the path of anti-Party struggle, together with the revisionists who left the Party previously, and has thereby forfeited his right to membership. The National Secretariat therefore recommends his immediate expulsion from the Communist Party.

The Secretariat's statement of charges on the basis of which the Westchester Club of the party expelled you in November of 1960 and which was confirmed by the National Committee in January 1961, appears in somewhat more detail in the issue of *Political Affairs* for December 1960. The full document reveals that the Secretariat indulged in its usual name-calling, which occurs in its disciplinary cases, and utilizing the usual Communist dialectic, said that you were guilty of "factional, disruptive, anti-Party activities," of being imbued with "bourgeois individualism," otherwise known as autonomism.

You may have heard me read the extract from Lenin in which he uses the expression "autonomism" as a right deviationist departure from the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle. You had an "American" way to communism. I ask you this question, Mr. Bittelman: There is no room, is there, in the Communist Party organization of the United States for individualism, otherwise expressed as "autonomism"?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I am sorry to answer, Mr. Chairman, on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. You did not question the accuracy of any of the statements I have made as factual matter in my preface to that question?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I must decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the excerpts from the complete statement of charges by the National Secretariat in the case of Mr. Bittelman, which appeared in *Political Affairs* for December 1960, be marked as Bittelman Exhibit No. 9 and be incorporated in the record.

Mr. BRUCE. Without objection, they shall be so marked and inserted in the record at this point.

(Document marked "Bittelman Exhibit No. 9." See Appendix, pp. 817-826.)

Mr. NITTLE. Your efforts to introduce various innovations in the American Communist program were always aimed at the ultimate establishment of a Communist system in America, judging from your writings and activities. Yet, the national leadership of the party says

you were incorrect. What determines what program and policies are correct for the Communist Party in the United States?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BITTELMAN. Sorry, but I must refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Would it be going too far to ask, Mr. Bittelman, if you fear reprisals from the Communist Party should you at this time divulge any information to this committee about the activities of the Communist Party in the United States?

Mr. BITTELMAN. Mr. Chairman, I have been given the grounds for my answers. I declare the privileges of the first and fifth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Are not the correct theories and theoretical approaches to Marxism-Leninism determined from abroad, actually?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. When you devised various new ideas for the American party to consider, namely, your own American road to communism, were you not in fact responding to what you thought was the Moscow line at that time upon the death of Stalin?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Weren't you attempting to anticipate the shift as a faithful party member?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. You had no deliberate intention of departing from the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, did you?

Mr. BITTELMAN. Same answer, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NITTLE. I will pursue that a little further.

Khrushchev's report, delivered for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the 20th Soviet Party Congress, appeared in *New Times*, a Soviet publication under date of February 16, 1956, preceding the composition of your 1957 articles wherein you espouse the American road to socialism or to communism. He refers to a possible parliamentary achievement of communism in some non-Communist countries and that "It is probable that more forms of transition to socialism will appear."

Of course, by socialism he meant communism, am I correct?

Mr. BITTELMAN. Same answer, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NITTLE. Khrushchev also quoted Lenin to support his thesis that not all nations will arrive at socialism in the same way, and he said—

each will contribute something of its own in one or another form of democracy, one or another variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, one or another rate at which socialist transformations will be effected in the various aspects of social life.

May I interpose a moment. When Khrushchev talks about a "form of democracy," does he not mean communism?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that excerpts from Khrushchev's report, to which I have just referred, be marked Bittelman Exhibit No. 10 and retained in committee files.

(Document marked "Bittelman Exhibit No. 10" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. That is a use of the Communist reverse language, isn't it?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. This new Khrushchev line had earlier been called to the attention of American Communists in a *Pravda* editorial on July 16, 1955, and that was reprinted in the local Communist organ *Political Affairs* in September of the same year.

Pravda, describing Khrushchev's efforts to achieve a rapprochement with the Yugoslav Communists—and bear in mind this was only a declaration of political expediency in relation to the Yugoslav Communists—had declared that—

different countries can employ different forms and methods of dealing with the concrete problems of socialist [meaning communist] construction depending on their distinctive historical and national features.

Did you believe that these remarks of Khrushchev, the leader of world communism today, was an invitation to you as a leading theoretician of the American Communist Party to work out what might be described as an American Communist ideology?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I am very sorry, Mr. Chairman, but I must decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you aware that many Communists both here and abroad did exactly that?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. And you were one of them; is that not so?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Despite your long years of experience as a theoretician, you misinterpreted the Khrushchev statement. If you had read farther—and I presume you did—you would have noted the significance of what he says additionally in that same speech that—

there is no doubt that in a number of capitalist countries violent overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the sharp aggravation of class struggle connected with this are inevitable. * * *

* * * * *

In the countries where capitalism is still strong, and has a huge military and police apparatus at its disposal, the reactionary forces will of course inevitably offer serious resistance. There the transition to socialism will be attended by a sharp class, revolutionary struggle.

Did you not ignore those words when you formulated an American road to communism, Mr. Bittelman, and which you flatly proclaimed in your writings in 1957 would lead to "A peaceful and constitutional transition to socialism" in the United States?

Mr. BITTELMAN. Same answer, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NITTLE. You were rejecting, in effect, the Khrushchev view of violent revolution as the road to socialism for America, laid down by the Soviet Party Congress, were you not?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I respectfully decline to answer.

Mr. NITTLE. On the other hand, William Z. Foster, who had the dubious honor of dying on Russian soil, had a very solid Moscow-backed basis when in October of 1957 he attacked your concept of a "peaceful and constitutional transition" to communism in the United States.

Foster charged you had "muted"—that is his word—the "national class struggle," almost "to the vanishing point," and that by foreseeing a peaceful transition to communism here "with but little class struggle" you would leave the Communist Party in America with "very little leading or fighting to do."

Would you disagree with what I have said?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I must decline to answer.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you familiar, Mr. Bittelman, and I presume you are, with the contents of the declaration issued in November 1957 at Moscow by the Soviet Communist Party, and 11 Communist parties from nations under Communist domination?

Perhaps I could further identify the declaration in this way. Representatives of Communist parties met in Moscow November 14 to 16, 1957. The declaration was published in full in *Political Affairs* of December 1957, a magazine that you formerly edited. The text was that supplied in English by the Hsinhua News Agency of Peking.

Do you recollect that declaration?

Mr. BITTELMAN. Same answer, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you recall that the declaration condemned revisionists who would "deny the historical necessity for a proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, deny the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, reject the principles of proletarian internationalism * * *?"

Mr. BITTELMAN. I must decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. The National Secretariat's charges, supporting your expulsion, quoted from Soviet authorities in an effort to demonstrate the mistaken nature of your views. Would you care to comment on that?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer, Mr. Chairman, on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Referring again to the complete statement of charges against you in *Political Affairs*, the National Secretariat of the Communist Party of the United States cited as authority the new Soviet textbook entitled *Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism*. In this book Khrushchev apparently attempts to provide the World Communist Movement with what he calls the correct theory, policy, and practices. The Secretariat found justification for your expulsion in the following pronouncement in this Soviet text:

To the reformist and the revisionist program of a state monopoly capitalism "evolving" into socialism the Marxist-Leninist parties counterpose a clearcut program of decisive struggle against the capitalist monopolies, against their domination, for the overthrow of the dictatorship of a handful of monopolist aristocracy.

Mr. Bittelman, that language and the circumstances leading to your expulsion really unmask the party's propaganda pretensions to non-Communists, that the Communist Party is just another political party seeking objectives through peaceful and constitutional means; does it not?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I must decline to answer on the grounds of claiming the privileges of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. NITTLE. The leadership of the Communist Party in the United States, responding to directives from Moscow, maintains and insists on maintaining the Communist Party of the United States as a revolutionary party, determined to impose by force the views of a minority upon the majority of the people of this country, is that not correct?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer, Mr. Chairman, on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Except for an increasingly subtle refinement of its propaganda—in which the Communist Party envelopes its operations, first to prove more attractive to non-Communist Americans, the better to deceive us and, second, to counter various anti-subversive laws—the Communist Party since its inception has undergone no truly basic change in organizational principles and methods of operation. Is that not a correct statement of fact, Mr. Bittelman?

Mr. BITTELMAN. Same answer, Mr. Chairman, on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you yourself, Mr. Bittelman, made a change in your views regarding the nature of the Communist Party in this country since you helped found it in 1919?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you recall a pamphlet that you wrote in 1937 under the title *Milestones in the History of the Communist Party*?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. In this pamphlet, which we will identify as Bittelman Exhibit No. 11, you outlined instance after instance during the years 1921 and 1929 in which the Communist International intervened in the affairs of the American Communists to end factional fights and settle party policy. You declared:

Is there a single class-conscious worker in the United States who * * * would reproach the Comintern for "interfering" in American affairs or reproach the American Communists for accepting this "interference"?

Your answer to that question in the article was "No."

In the same pamphlet you stated that the Comintern "has grown into a true world party," and "all Communist Parties are carrying out one single line of the Comintern."

In the 1920's and the 1930's you did not then question the right of Stalin's Comintern to intervene directly in the affairs of the Communist Party in the United States, did you, Mr. Bittelman?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer, Mr. Chairman, on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that excerpts from this pamphlet *Milestones in the History of the Communist Party* written by Mr. Bittelman be marked Bittelman Exhibit No. 11 and be incorporated in the record.

Mr. BRUCE. Without objection they will be so marked and incorporated in the record.

(Document marked "Bittelman Exhibit No. 11." See Appendix, pp. 827-829.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Bittelman, hearings by the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities in 1939, produced voluminous evidence and documentation relating to the arbitrary method by which the Comintern officials and Stalin himself repeatedly made decisions involving, not only the form of the party organization in America, but also the leadership. Was that not your experience in the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. BITTELMAN. Sorry, I must decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. As a matter of fact, Mr. Bittelman, do you recollect the cable from Moscow which was responsible for eliminating you from party leadership in America for two years beginning in 1929?

Mr. BITTELMAN. What was the question?

Mr. NITTLE. Do you recollect the cable from Moscow?

Mr. BITTELMAN. Same answer, Mr. Chairman, on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. The cable eliminated you from party leadership beginning in 1929 for 2 years. Do you recollect it?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer, Mr. Chairman, on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. On Stalin's orders, you personally were disciplined—and this is the way you were disciplined then—you were given a 2-year Comintern assignment in India, were you not, Mr. Bittelman?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer respectfully on the same grounds.

Mr. BRUCE. Where did he go?

Mr. NITTLE. To India as a disciplinary measure.

Mr. BRUCE. Were you ever in India?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. As a matter of fact, you did serve the 2 years in India as your disciplinary penance to the Communist Party?

Mr. BITTELMAN. Is that a question?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes. Is that not a correct statement?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that excerpts from the testimony of Benjamin Gitlow, a Communist leader in the late 1920's, before the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities in 1939, be marked Bittelman Exhibit No. 12 and retained in committee files.

I would also like to include with this exhibit, statements from a study entitled *American Communism and Soviet Russia*, by Theodore Draper.

Mr. BRUCE. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Documents marked "Bittelman Exhibit No. 12" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Finally, Mr. Bittelman, let me state it appears that back in the 1930's, according to the *Daily Worker* of February 18, 1935, which I have before me, you also quoted copiously from Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Comintern documents to prove that "the proletarian revolution is inevitable in the United States."

According to this article, which I submit for incorporation in the printed record as Bittelman Exhibit 13, those who disagreed with that position were guilty of "bourgeois and reformist argument."

Today the World Communist Movement and the American party organization are using your old arguments of the 1930's, and they are using your same epithets, the Communist theoretical jargon created by Lenin, to eliminate you from the party today and to discredit your theories of a peaceful and American road to "socialism."

Is this not a correct statement?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer, Mr. Chairman, on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Bittelman Exhibit No. 13." See Appendix p. 830.)

Mr. NITTLE. For the sake of the record, Mr. Bittelman, when Khrushchev and Communists speak of "socialism," that is just a nice word for Communist control, isn't it?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer, Mr. Chairman, on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Certainly they are not referring to the type of socialism—that of Norman Thomas, for example—which intends to proceed through constitutional processes?

Mr. BITTELMAN. Is that a question?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mr. BITTELMAN. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. They are referring to revolutionary imposition of the will of a minority upon the majority of the American people, rather than an operation through constitutional processes, is that not correct?

Mr. BITTELMAN. I am awfully sorry, but I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Bittelman, certainly we respect your constitutional right to plead the first and fifth amendments which you have consistently done this afternoon. However, I think the open record of your own activity, and from information in the files of this committee, indicates that you have indeed been active in a leadership position over the years in the Communist Party, United States of America. While, as I say, we do respect your right to invoke the privileges of the great Constitution of the United States, I must say that it is regrettable that, with this opportunity to serve your Nation by providing most important information to the Congress of the United States, you have chosen to invoke the privileges of the Constitution rather than provide this very vital information which you obviously, from your position, can provide. I would like to give you the assurance that if in the future, by some change of thought or conscience, you feel you would like to serve this Nation by providing us or other governmental agencies with this vital information, we would welcome it from you.

The witness is dismissed.

The committee will stand in recess until 10:30 tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 5:00 p.m. Tuesday, November 21, 1961, the subcommittee was recessed, to be reconvened at 10:30 a.m. Wednesday, November 22, 1961.)

STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1961

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:30 a.m., in Room 1334, New House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Morgan M. Moulder (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Morgan M. Moulder, of Missouri; William M. Tuck, of Virginia; August E. Johansen, of Michigan; and Donald C. Bruce, of Indiana.

Staff members present: Alfred M. Nittle, counsel.

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will be in order.

Mr. McNamara will be recalled as a witness.

TESTIMONY OF FRANCIS J. McNAMARA—Resumed

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. McNamara, in your previous testimony you have established for the record the skeletal structure of the Communist Party in the United States, the identity of the top national leadership, and the organizational principles by which it is evident that the leadership autocratically directs the activities of the thousands of rank-and-file party members and lesser party officials scattered throughout the United States. Through the statements made by Communists, disputing with other Communists, and through the committee's interrogation of a number of participants in the Communist conspiracy, the record of these hearings thus far includes practical illustrations of how the party operates on the principles of a paramilitary organization, created by Lenin in prerevolutionary Russia.

The most important principles of party organization, it was shown, are democratic centralism, monolithic unity, and discipline. In terms most Americans will understand, they have resulted in an organization which functions on a unilateral chain-of-command basis, which permits no dissent from top party leadership directives, and which requires a lockstep performance by thousands of Communist Party members who daily carry out assignments, avowedly aimed at hastening the overthrow by violence of our constitutional form of government in favor of Soviet-style dictatorship.

Why is it that these organizational principles have continued to govern the Communist Party operation in the United States, where

all our traditions, as so many dissenting Communists have themselves pointed out, might imply at least the gradual assimilation of some democratic processes by local Communists?

Mr. McNAMARA. Once a person joins the Communist Party, rather than having an assimilation of democratic ideals, there is, if I might coin a word, a process of "dissimilation" of democratic ideals and principles. This is because of the party psychology and strategy in dealing with its members.

The party tries to surround them so completely with communism that they will eventually become ideal Communists. In their cell meetings and clubs they receive a steady indoctrination in Communist principles and ideology. They are sent to Communist Party schools for formal instruction. They read Communist Party newspapers, Communist Party magazines, Communist Party literature on numerous topics. The party tries to build a Communist wall around its members to insulate them from influence by democratic ideals, thoughts, or processes.

I do not mean by this that the party tries to cut them off completely from all contact with non-Communists. It is just the opposite, because it is Communist doctrine that a Communist party which severs its ties completely with the non-Communist masses, becomes useless. It is no good—for the obvious reason that, once it does this, it cannot effectively promote the spread of world communism and eventually world conquest.

However, the psychology of the party member when he has contact with a non-Communist individual or organization is such that it militates against the absorption or assimilation of any democratic ideals. He has such contact with a mission. It is to sell communism, one phase or another of the party line, to these non-Communist groups or individuals.

So that, as far as the party can maintain this, the party member is subjected to a steady, more concentrated assimilation of Communist ideals and a corresponding steady loss of any democratic ideals. He has these ideals, usually, to some extent when he joins the party. He has been brought up as an American, with democratic ideals. The party does everything it can to see that he loses these.

Basically, however, these principles to which you have referred continue to operate in the party because the party has never been a "domestic" organization in the sense that any of our political parties, unions, or civic organizations are domestic or American. The Communist Party, from the very beginning, alienated itself from American democratic processes in several ways:

First of all, by frankly stating its objective of overthrowing this Government by force and violence if necessary;

Secondly, it consolidated this alienation from everything that is democratic and American by imitating the party principles that were set up by Lenin for his prerevolutionary organization in Russia;

And finally, it has perpetuated its alienation by pledging its primary loyalty to a foreign power, the Soviet Union.

Mr. NITTLE. Perhaps, then, we should examine the nature of the relationship between the Communist Parties of the United States and of the Soviet Union, to which I assume you have reference?

Mr. McNAMARA. Yes. In spite of the fact that at the present time there are some small Communist countries whose leadership evidences

some adherence to the Chinese Communist Party, the Communist Party of the United States, it will be demonstrated in these hearings, continues to take its direction first of all from the most powerful Communist nation, the Soviet Union, the recognized head of the World Communist Movement, and to support the Soviet Union by every means available to it.

Mr. NITTLE. But this is contrary to the propaganda claims of the Communist Party and the statements in its constitution, is it not?

Mr. McNAMARA. Yes. But these hearings have already demonstrated the fallacy of such United States Communist Party propaganda—the speciousness of the democratic principles spelled out in the party constitution, which are attempts to make the American people believe they are a legitimate political, American, and democratic organization. The Communists' own statements which have been introduced in the record, statements not designed for non-Communist consumption, confirm, as we will show, the continued obedience of the United States party to the Kremlin.

Mr. NITTLE. This means, does it not, that the national leadership of the party and its arbitrary actions within the American party organization, which have been clearly revealed, are not the primary source of the policies and program on which all American Communist activities are based?

Mr. McNAMARA. This is true. Anyone who has attended these hearings and heard all that has gone into the record must ask themselves: How did the leadership of the U.S. Communist Party determine what was "correct" policy? What was "correct" program? What was "correct" theory? What was the "correct" type of party? What was their criterion for these judgments?

Yesterday, there was on the witness stand one Alexander Bittelman, a charter member of the Communist Party. For years and years he has been recognized by United States Communists as the party's top-ranking theoretician, its expert on Marxism-Leninism. Yet the national leadership has found that he has advocated policy that is now determined not to be correct.

We have shown that John Gates, a long-time party leader, a man who held the important post of editor in chief of the party's *Daily Worker*—which is not merely a newspaper but a directive and theoretical organ as well—has also been found guilty of incorrect policy.

Homer B. Chase, who was on the stand yesterday, was a long-time organizer for the party. He, too, has been found guilty of incorrect policy.

How are these determinations made?

It can be shown, in every case, that the deviations charged to individuals within the party are based on the line laid down by Nikita Khrushchev in Moscow, who has replaced Stalin as the boss of the World Communist Movement.

Of course, the Communists will claim this is due merely to the fact that they have views similar to Khrushchev's. They just happen to agree, to think the same way. However, to offset this claim, it can be shown that the Soviet Communists intervened directly in the bitter factional fighting in the United States Communist Party in the years 1956-58; that Moscow promoted a change in the leadership of the United States party, downgrading those United States Communists who showed some varying signs of independence of the

Kremlin; and that they elevated to ruling status a clique that is abjectly servile to the Kremlin in everything it says.

Mr. NITTLE. The monolithic, disciplined party organization in America today continues to operate as an agency of the Soviet dictatorship, despite the temporary upheaval in party ranks that took place while Stalin's succession was being fought out in the Soviet Union. Is that not a correct statement?

Mr. McNAMARA. That is true. But before going into some of the actual developments which prove this, demonstrate it, I would like to place in the record a few statements by Communists themselves which will demonstrate that the party followed Stalin slavishly up to the time of his death on March 5, 1953.

One such item: In April 1956, the National Committee of the Communist Party held its first full meeting subsequent to Khrushchev's de-Stalinization speech at the 20th Soviet Party Congress. At this meeting, *Daily Worker* Editor-in-Chief John Gates declared that the monolithic character of the Communist movement had come to mean that "whatever Stalin said became our policy." He also told the National Committee that Marxism-Leninism had been "whatever Stalin said it was."¹

Second, an unidentified member of the Communist Party, speaking his mind in the July 1956 issue of *Party Voice*, an internal Communist Party publication, declared that he and other American Communists have been "living our lives, to some extent, vicariously, as Soviet citizens."

He said that he had attended the Communist Party's Jefferson School in New York City but had never had a class on what Jefferson's ideas or theories meant and how they affected him. On the other hand, he noted, "the History of the CPSU"—that is, the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*—"has always been required reading in the Party."

He said that the party operated on the basis of "slavish dependence * * * on everything Soviet—culture, philosophy and theory," and that "we thought the Russian Communists had all the answers and all we had to do was to get it from them."

As a result of this slavish obedience to Moscow, this Communist pointed out, everything the Communists in the United States are doing today "looks like a reflection of the Soviet Party's 20th Congress."

Mr. TUCK (presiding). The documents from which you have read will be marked as Committee Exhibits Nos. 24 and 25, respectively, and filed with the committee records.

(Documents marked "Committee Exhibits Nos. 24 and 25," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. This raises the pertinent question, Mr. McNamara, as to whether the American party organization continued this slavish dependence on Moscow following the death of Stalin in 1953.

Mr. McNAMARA. Here is what one Communist says on that subject. Again I quote from *Party Voice*, the issue of December 1956, an article written by a party member identified only by the initials "L. W. M." He is describing the party's role with respect to the

¹ Gates synthesizes his remarks at this meeting on pp. 166, 167 of his book, *The Story of An American Communist* (Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1958).

Soviet Union under Stalin's leadership and its subsequent record after Stalin's death. He stated:

The American Communist Party does not approach the American people with clean hands, as far as the Soviet Union is concerned. The American Communist Party repeated, as gospel truth, which it sincerely believed, every lie told by the Soviet Union about its living standards, about Tito, about democracy in the Soviet Communist Party, about the Moscow Trials, about the electoral system, about the Doctors' Case, the stamping out of Jewish culture.

and

it [the Communist Party] must free itself completely of the charge of being a "foreign agent." * * * It is a matter of proving that they do not regard the Soviet word as gospel, that they are not apologists, that they judge the Soviet Union on the basis of facts and not propaganda handouts, that they study Soviet developments independently * * *.

Then this writer went on to pronounce his judgment that an independent view of Soviet developments on the part of the United States Communist Party is still "*not* the case today."

He then stated that, during 1956, United States Communist Party leaders had, in fact, shown "cringing subservience" to pronouncements and criticisms from Moscow. I would like to hold the exact details of the subservience he complained about for insertion in the record at a later stage of these hearings.

Another Communist, whose writings under the name of "Dan Henry" have already been introduced into the record as Committee Exhibit No. 18, also called attention to the fact that the party's leadership had adhered completely to Khrushchev and that its "blind acceptance" of all his revelations at the 20th Soviet Party Congress represented no improvement whatsoever in the way of independent action, that is, over the party's previous blind acceptance of everything Stalin had done when he was the boss of the World Communist Movement.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the article from the December 1956 *Party Voice* be made a part of the printed record of the hearings.

Mr. TUCK. Unless there is objection, and the Chair hears none, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Committee Exhibit No. 26." See Appendix, pp. 831-836.)

Mr. NITTLE. Did not the death of Stalin in 1953 affect the party organization in America in some way?

Mr. McNAMARA. Not basically nor in any major way because, by force of habit, I guess you might say, and by ideology, the United States Communist Party and its leadership continued to support and echo the pronouncements made by whoever seemed to be "top dog" in Moscow at the moment.

It must be remembered that the disciplined, monolithic structure of the United States Communist Party has always viewed the Soviet Union as the fatherland and has considered itself as part of an international proletarian vanguard sworn to support and defend this fatherland against all so-called enemies.

In bolder and older days, the American Communists even publicly took an oath to fulfill this duty. This oath received in those days as much emphasis as their so-called historical mission of bringing about the downfall of capitalism and the victory of communism on a world scale. So just as the American organization in 1924 accepted Stalin

as Lenin's heir—and this was based, not on any great pre-eminence on Stalin's part, but just the mere fact of his undisputed control of the Soviet party apparatus—so after Stalin's death in 1953, the United States party immediately bowed down to the new high priesthood in Moscow, which was known as the collective leadership. There were no immediate repercussions or trouble of any kind.

Mr. NITTLE. Perhaps it would be well to clarify the record as to the nature of the Soviet leadership in the post-Stalin era, particularly with respect to the exact time at which Khrushchev emerged as supreme leader.

Mr. McNAMARA. Briefly, it could be summarized in this way: In 1953, in March, the Soviet Union lost a dictator who had answered to no one and no organization, actually, during the some 30 years that he had ruled the Soviet empire and the World Communist Movement. Immediately after his death, the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party became the decision-maker for world communism, while Georgi Malenkov was named to the post of Soviet Premier.

Khrushchev was part of this collective leadership, having obtained the post of first secretary of the party, that is, the boss, the top post in the party, in September 1953. The power struggle that ensued and in which leading Soviet Communists maneuvered and fought for Stalin's mantle is now a matter of history.

In February 1955 Malenkov was forced to resign, and Khrushchev's increasing influence on Soviet affairs became clearly evident. He succeeded gradually in eliminating opposition and, by late 1957, had pretty well established his monopoly rule of the Soviet regime.

In March 1958, Nicolai Bulganin, who had succeeded Malenkov as Premier, was forced out. Khrushchev became Premier of the Soviet Government at that time. His pre-eminence, his absolute rule, was thus demonstrated—because he had achieved the two posts which Stalin had held for many years. He was top man in both the Communist Party and in the Government of the Soviet Union.

Mr. NITTLE. How did the power struggle in the Soviet Union affect the party organization in America?

Mr. McNAMARA. Not to any great extent, and there was no fundamental change in the United States party during this period. Of course, there were minor changes in party propaganda and in some of its tactics. There was, for example, an all-out return to the united-front tactic which was dictated by the new leadership in Moscow. This was the tactic that had been so effectively employed by Communists in the United States in the 1930's.

Under this tactic, Communists ostensibly cooperate with non-Communist individuals and groups of any type, from socialists to capitalists, from free thinkers to Catholics, for alleged common objectives, such as today—this is the big theme of all the party's united-front effort—for "peace." Communist organizations, fronts, attempt to establish joint ventures with non-Communist groups. And then they have the "united-front-from-below" tactic, in which they try to achieve the same objective by the infiltration of individual Communist Party members into non-Communist groups. This, today, is a major tactic being employed by the United States party.

Under Stalin's more rigid prior strategy, the Communists in the United States had found much more difficult going. It had tended to

alienate them from the American people. Under his policies, for example, the Communists had come out and made statements to the effect that they would always refuse to bear arms against the Soviet Union in the event there should be a war between this and that nation.

The subject of tactical change is pertinent and important in any consideration of the degree to which the Soviet Union controls the United States party, but there is so much information on this subject, and it is so broad, that I think we might just end our consideration of this subject at this time and possibly get into it later on in the hearings.

Mr. NITTLE. Between the death of Stalin in 1953 and the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in February 1956, none of the events in Moscow that then occurred interfered with the continued smooth functioning of the party organization in the United States. Is that correct?

Mr. McNAMARA. That is true. It was not until Khrushchev made his denunciation of Stalin in a secret speech before the 20th Soviet Party Congress on February 24 and 25, 1956, a speech that was leaked out through the representatives of other parties and eventually published by the United States State Department, that an upheaval developed. This upheaval split the United States party's top leadership. It introduced some changes in the party's constitution which could have affected its basic structure and principles, and it also, of course, generated a great amount of confusion among the thousands of rank-and-file Communists in this country and in many other nations who had been accustomed to lock-step performance in obedience to everything said by the Soviet leadership. Communists are required, and always have been as part of their ideology and discipline, to accept everything that Moscow says.

After Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin, they were in a very uncomfortable position. They had to admit that they had been wrong for some 30 years, basically, in deifying and worshiping and supporting and doing everything Stalin said, or else they had to defy the authority of Stalin's possible successor, Khrushchev. The fact that Khrushchev had confirmed Stalin's unjustified assassination or liquidation of thousands of good Communists and Soviet citizens who were just expendable to him, the lack of judicial process in the Soviet Union, the revelations about the slave labor camps, Stalin's attempts at self-deification—these and other revelations made by Khrushchev were just too much for many Communists, who simply left the organization in disgust. Then those who did not leave had varying reactions. William Z. Foster, the national chairman of the United States party, simply apologized for all his past mistakes and sought to continue the operation of the same type party, the same type apparatus, under Khrushchev's leadership. John Gates, the editor in chief of the *Daily Worker*, wanted to revise the party, to change it into a political association based on democratic processes and procedures with independence of Moscow, while actually seeking, however, to bring about a Communist America. Others had still different views. They wanted a change in the leadership, or just certain democratic elements or procedures introduced into the party, its structure, discipline.

Others, again, wanted a disciplined, monolithic, revolutionary organization which rejected Khrushchev's leadership and remained

loyal to the basic principles that had been laid down by Stalin over his 30 years' reign.

The same situation that developed within the United States party developed in many other Communist parties of the world. Italy, France, Great Britain, Canada are examples. The explosive impact of Khrushchev's attack on Stalin was also seen in the uprising of the Hungarian people in the autumn of 1956 and the riots in Poland earlier in the same year.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. McNamara, may I interrupt your presentation for a moment?

Did you have the opportunity to see an item in the *Washington Post* this morning titled "Row of Italian Reds Cracks Leader Front"?

Mr. McNAMARA. No, I didn't see that.

Mr. NITTLE. I have just come upon this myself. I will read from it, as I think the article will demonstrate very clearly the timeliness and significance of what you have been telling us, particularly your reference to Italy and other Communist parties throughout the world undergoing the same experience as that which the American party has undergone.

It appears, however, that while the American party organization has solved its problems, at least for the time being, the situation has not been similarly solved even today in Italy. May I read a small extract from that article to which I refer in the *Washington Post*, Wednesday, November 22, 1961, page A-11. Then I would ask for a brief comment from you. This is an article written by Leo J. Wollemborg:

ROME, Nov. 21—Developments of the last few days have sharply spotlighted a significant and novel feature of the crisis that is racking the Italian Communist Party as a result of the recent Moscow congress and the further downgrading of Stalin.

This time, the shock waves originating from Moscow have not only shaken the Red rank and file, but have also cracked the solid front that the Italian Communist leadership had maintained even when it was confronted with the first de-Stalinization back in 1956.

It now appears that in the meeting of the Party's Central Committee held after the return from Moscow of Palmiro Togliatti, unchallenged leader of Italian communism for 25 years, he was the target of extremely sharp attacks from many of his younger lieutenants.

Even more significant, an account of the attacks, although considerably toned down, was printed in the official Party daily at the behest of those Communist "Young Turks" and without Togliatti's approval or even knowledge. At the same time, the paper did not print a single passage of the sharp reply that Togliatti reportedly addressed to his critics at the end of the meeting.

Two days later, the veteran leader took the second round by resorting to similar tactics. The Party daily published a resolution, allegedly approved unanimously by the Central Committee, which in effect embodied the Togliatti line. It endorsed the new wave of de-Stalinization launched in the U.S.S.R. and ignored the differences that had emerged in the Central Committee except for a pointed warning that any such differences would play into the hands of anti-Communists.

That is an extract from the article. I ask that the article be introduced in the record of these hearings as an exhibit, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TUCK. Unless there is an objection on the part of some member of the committee, and the Chair hears none, the article will be admitted as an exhibit.

(Document marked "Committee Exhibit No. 27" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. McNAMARA. By way of comment, I would make three brief observations. One, I think I stated in my testimony the other day

that Khrushchev could not have foreseen fully all the results of his de-Stalinization speech. I think this exemplifies that. He has created turmoil throughout the Communist world by that speech. He has weakened the unity of the World Communist Movement by it. I have no doubt that he has often regretted it for this reason.

Second, as generally known, the Italian Communist Party is the largest one outside the Iron Curtain. This demonstrates one of the problems faced by the Communist movement. The larger the party, the more difficult it is so thoroughly to indoctrinate every single party member that you will always get complete, unswerving obedience; the more difficult it is to control the party as a whole. That is why, as a general rule, following the Hungarian uprising and some other events which portrayed the evil of communism, you generally had more defections among the larger European Communist parties than you had in the American Communist Party.

The third point I would make, or observation, is that I think this article proves quite conclusively that the United States Communists are much more completely subservient to Moscow than are the Italian Communists because trouble of this kind, as these hearings will demonstrate by documentation and facts introduced, has been ended in the United States party. This severe factionalism, strife, disagreement within the top leadership no longer exists. The party is completely and wholly going down Khrushchev's line.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, how long did the situation prevail in the party organization in this country, which appears now to be erupting anew in the Italian Communist Party?

Mr. McNAMARA. It existed for almost 2 years. It erupted into the open, or at least into publications of the Communist Party, in the spring of 1956. This fact has provided us non-Communists with a chronicle of the major battles fought in this inner-party struggle and with the positions taken by the various factions involved in it. However, it took the new party leadership clique until the 17th National Convention in December 1959 to consolidate its victory in this dispute.

Mr. NITTLE. Was this disruption of the party operation in America settled by mutual agreement of the contenders?

Mr. McNAMARA. No, it was settled by Soviet intervention.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you explain by what method this intervention took place?

Mr. McNAMARA. Yes, with a little background information first. Khrushchev himself actually must bear a good bit of the blame for the fervor with which many U.S. Communists—who were by no means disrespectful, actually, of the new Soviet leadership—discussed how American Communists might develop some ideas of their own for a change in the methods of achieving communism in this country.

In 1955, he held conversations with Tito with the view of cementing relations which, he claims, Stalin had disrupted. In the course of these conversations, he made pronouncements regarding possible "independent roads" to socialism—by which he meant communism—depending on the specific conditions existing in various countries. These remarks and similar remarks made at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party led many American Communists and Communists in other parts of the world, including the Italian Communist Party, for example, to believe that some independence of Moscow had official approval, that it was okay, and that they could exercise a

certain amount of independence of their own. Exhibits with respect to these statements made by Khrushchev were introduced yesterday, I believe, in the interrogation of the witness Alexander Bittelman.

The seriousness of the repercussions, first from Khrushchev's revelation of Stalin's crimes and second from the misinterpretation on the part of Communists of this post-Stalin policy toward non-Soviet Communist parties, compelled the production of a lengthy, clarifying pronouncement by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. This was made on June 30, 1956. It was issued within 4 months, actually, of the time when Khrushchev made his attack on Stalin at the 20th Soviet Party Congress. The Central Committee, which issued this statement, was at the time the ruling group. It was the "collective" government in the Soviet Union.

This statement inveighed against Communists whose loyalty to the Soviet Union had weakened as the result of these two developments. It warned them that they were serving the capitalist enemies of communism by the ideas they had expressed. The Central Committee statement reminded Communists throughout the world of the need "for proletarian internationalism" and "loyalty to Marxism-Leninism," a catch phrase which always had rallied Communists everywhere to the support of the Soviet Union in the past. It pointed out that simply because the Comintern and Cominform no longer existed, it did not follow that "international solidarity" and the "need of contacts" between the various Communist parties had "lost significance." With these and many other expressions of the need for Communists everywhere to "rally together and strengthen their ties," the Central Committee of the Soviet party sought to restore the unity which had been disrupted and broken by Khrushchev, restore that unity under Soviet leadership. It singled out for special attack, Togliatti, the Italian Communist leader, for "incorrectly" interpreting the revelations regarding Stalin as a sign of degeneration of Soviet society.

This pronouncement of the Central Committee was broadcast by radio from Moscow, reprinted in Communist journals throughout the world, and also published in the *Daily Worker* here in this country under date of July 3, 1956, for the benefit of members of the United States Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the statement of the Soviet Central Committee of June 30, 1956, be marked as an exhibit and incorporated in the printed record.

Mr. TUCK. Unless there is an objection of some member of the committee, and I hear none, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Committee Exhibit No. 28." See Appendix, pp. 837-853.)

Mr. NITTLE. What success did this Soviet effort to regain its leadership obtain?

Mr. McNAMARA. This effort received great attention from the Soviet leadership in spite of the fact that at that time, we must recall, the leadership was itself locked in a power struggle, which was not resolved until Khrushchev in the summer of 1957 won out over the Malenkov-Molotov faction. After defeating these opponents, Khrushchev devoted more attention to the situation in the World Communist Movement, which was still characterized by signs of aspiration for a certain amount of independence from the Kremlin on

the part of national Communist parties, particularly those in the Western World, by a record of actual rioting in Poland and Hungary and stress on national communism, so-called, on the part of the Yugoslav Communists.

In November 1957, there was an international Communist conference held, called by Khrushchev. It issued a manifesto of common purpose and unity, or "adherence to Marxism-Leninism," as it said, under the leadership of the Soviet Union. Sixty-five of the 80-odd Communist parties of the world signed this manifesto. In addition, 12 Communist parties which actually controlled the governments of nations in Europe and Asia signed a famous declaration against revisionism and in favor of "proletarian internationalism." The Yugoslavs, however, did refuse to sign this latter statement.

On the basis of a series of such meetings of Communist parties throughout the world, Khrushchev endeavored to repair the damage he had done to the monolithic structure of the World Communist Movement and the damage he had also done to many of the individual parties. These international conferences of Communist parties of the world were bolstered by a steady stream of directives that came out of Moscow in the form of speeches by Khrushchev himself and other faithful Soviet and foreign Communists. They were also bolstered by numerous articles which appeared in the Soviet press and in international Communist journals such as *International Affairs*, which is printed in Moscow in some 18 languages and read by Communists in every nation of the world.

The capitulation of individual Communists and Communist parties to the call of Moscow for strict adherence to its dictates followed with varying degrees of rapidity. As we saw from the *Washington Post* article of this morning, there has not yet been complete capitulation on the part of the Italian Communist Party. Some Communist parties have continued to show some signs of independence. But the Communist Party of the United States, as material to be introduced in these hearings will reveal, capitulated completely to these calls from Moscow for complete subservience to everything it said, did, requested, or demanded.

Mr. NITTLE. Just one more matter, Mr. McNamara: I note that the 81 Communist Parties' manifesto, which was issued after the last meeting of November-December 1960, contains certain statements of interest. I would quote two or three of them, for your comment in relation to what you have just said:

It is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party to work continuously for greater unity in the world Communist movement.

* * * * *

The Communist and Workers' Parties hold meetings whenever necessary to discuss urgent problems, to exchange experience, acquaint themselves with each other's views and positions, work out common views through consultations and co-ordinate joint actions in the struggle for common goals.

* * * * *

The Communist and Workers' Parties unanimously declare that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been, and remains, the universally recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement, being the most experienced and steeled contingent of the international Communist movement.

Mr. McNAMARA. I believe it is apparent from that excerpt from the statement signed by 81 of the world's 87 Communist parties in Moscow December 5, 1960, that Khrushchev has succeeded at least in

getting all the Communist parties of the world to give complete lip service to his demand for absolute unity of the World Communist Movement and the complete subservience of every single Communist party to Moscow. I think that, as far as the overwhelming majority of Communist parties of the world are concerned, it is much more than lip service. There are some, a few, such as the Italian Communist Party, where there is still some deviationism and disagreement. But, for the most part, the Communist parties of the world have rallied to the position that Moscow is the supreme power; the Soviet Party, the top party. They must look to it as the vanguard and follow its example and directives.

MR. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that Mr. McNamara be permitted to stand aside. We would like to call a witness, and then have Mr. McNamara conclude his testimony later.

MR. TUCK. Mr. Bruce would like to ask a question.

MR. BRUCE. Mr. McNamara, is it not true that in their writings, consistently over the years, the Communist dogmatists and theoreticians have always maintained the position that communism is not nationalistic, but is international in character?

MR. McNAMARA. That is true.

MR. BRUCE. Actually, the Western World, to a great degree, perhaps makes a mistake in equating communism with Russians, as such.

MR. McNAMARA. I think that is one of the most dangerous errors made by non-Communists with good intentions. They tend to identify communism with the Russian people. Remember that at the time of the Hungarian uprising there was only one group of men who went to the assistance of the Hungarians who were fighting for their freedom, and these were Russians who defected from the Soviet Army and actually turned their guns on their own commanders. The Russian people—200 million-odd—are, like the people of China and of the other Communist nations, slaves of the system. We know from the testimony of the hundreds of thousands of refugees that have come from behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains in recent years, that they hate their oppressors, hate the governments which rule them. It is a very bad mistake to tend to identify communism with the Russian people.

MR. BRUCE. Is it not also true that the Communists, the world organization of Communists, regarded the Communist establishment of the Government of Russia as merely a home base, as a launching pad for their international organization, right from the beginning?

MR. McNAMARA. That is true. But I do think that over the years it has been more than that. They also ascribe to the Soviet party a primacy in the World Communist Movement.

MR. BRUCE. It is the original launching pad?

MR. McNAMARA. That is right. Actually, of course, the earliest Communist theoreticians did not think that Russia would be the first Communist nation. They expected it to be one of the countries of Western Europe, one of our industrialized cultures, rather than the Soviet—I mean Russia—which was so largely agricultural, that they would capture first.

MR. BRUCE. Even going back into the early Marxist theorists and so forth, they clearly recognized the need to establish a base in one country as the home ground, as it were, from which they could then

send their tentacles out throughout the entire world, with the discipline originating from this captured home base?

Mr. McNAMARA. This is unquestionably true. In the early years and until quite recently, in fact, the Communists always made much of the "capitalist encirclement" of Russia, and how this one base of world communism that had been established had to be protected at all costs. This was the prime duty of every Communist in the world, to protect that base—and to end the capitalist encirclement of the Soviet Union by creating other Communist regimes.

Mr. BRUCE. Is it not also true on the international party operation that the discipline we are talking about here of all Communist parties, incorporates basically three phases of operation—the loyalty to the Soviet military operation; loyalty to the faith of the Communists, the motivating factor, the dedication to the so-called principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin; and to the conspiratorial apparatus, the missionaries of the Communist movement, that all three are invoked as an acceptance of discipline on all Communist parties of the world?

Mr. McNAMARA. That is true.

Mr. BRUCE. Thank you very much.

Mr. TUCK. We thank you very much, Mr. McNamara, and the committee will be glad to hear from you later on.

The committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:05 p.m. Wednesday, November 22, 1961, the committee was recessed, to reconvene at 2:00 p.m. the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1961

(The committee reconvened at 2 p.m., Hon. Morgan M. Moulder, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.)

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will be in order. Call your next witness.

Mr. NITTLE. A. B. Magil.

Mr. MOULDER. You do solemnly swear that the testimony which you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MAGIL. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ABRAHAM B. MAGIL, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, SIDNEY DICKSTEIN

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state your full name for the record, please?

Mr. MAGIL. Abraham B. Magil.

Mr. NITTLE. I believe you are represented by counsel, are you not, Mr. Magil?

Mr. MAGIL. I am.

Mr. NITTLE. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Sidney Dickstein, 1411 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Mr. NITTLE. You are appearing here today in response to a subpoena served upon you by this committee, is that not correct, Mr. Magil?

Mr. MAGIL. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your present residence?

Mr. MAGIL. 180 Riverside Drive, New York City.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your present occupation?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MAGIL. I must respectfully decline to answer invoking the constitutional protection of the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you on the payroll of the Communist Party at this time?

Mr. MAGIL. Same answer.

Mr. NITTLE. Where were you born, Mr. Magil?

Mr. MAGIL. Philadelphia.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you give us a thumbnail sketch of your past occupations?

Mr. MAGIL. I must again invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Magil, the committee is anxious to question you regarding your knowledge of certain recent developments within the Communist Party of the United States. The committee understands that you have had a long experience in that organization, chiefly in the important role of publicist and journalist, is that correct?

Mr. MAGIL. Fifth amendment.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. NITTLE. To establish your long intimacy with organized communism in America and your competency to testify on this subject, I would like to refer you to an issue of the *Daily Worker* dated January 18, 1930, which identifies you at that time as an instructor in the Communist Party Workers' School. Was that report of your activity at that time by this Communist newspaper a correct representation?

Mr. MAGIL. With all due respect, I am again invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you also over a period of time extending from 1930 to approximately 1955 serve the Communist Party, from time to time, as an instructor in its schools?

Mr. MAGIL. I again invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you lecture before the California Labor School in the period between 1953 and 1955?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I stand on the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, in this connection the committee has compiled a list of references from the *Daily Worker* to be identified as Magil Exhibit No. 1.

Mr. MOULDER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Magil Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. According to the Communist magazine, *New Masses*, for February 1931, you were an American delegate to the Second World Plenum of the International Bureau of Revolutionary Literature, which was held in the Soviet Union in November 1930. You were reported to be representing the John Reed Club, and also representing at that meeting a publication, *New Masses*. Did you attend that Second World Plenum?

Mr. MAGIL. I again invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. That plenum was held at Kharkov in Russia, was it not?

Mr. MAGIL. I am again resorting to my constitutional privilege of invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you have any recollection of the platform adopted by that world conference of Communist intellectuals, convened there at Kharkov in accordance with this item in *New Masses*?

Mr. MAGIL. Respectfully I must give you the same answer.

Mr. NITTLE. May I ask you this question now: Would you defend the United States against the Soviet Union in the event of attack by that country upon this?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MAGIL. With all due respect, I must again invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. At the Kharkov conference to which I just referred, was it not a part of the platform of the "intellectuals" gathered there to subscribe to the following program, and I quote:

if you are a revolutionary writer or artist, you must fight not only against the war danger, but, more positively, in defence of the fatherland of all the workers and revolutionary intellectuals of the world, the Soviet Union.

Did you participate in the adoption of that program?

Mr. MAGIL. I am again invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. In the event the Soviet Union attacked the United States, would you assist the Soviet Union against the United States?

Mr. MAGIL. I must once more with all due respect invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Is it a program of the Communist Party within the United States to serve as a military organization, and to conduct rear warfare in the event of an attack upon this country by the Soviet Union?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you Magil Exhibit 2, and ask whether you will identify that as a correct statement of the platform as it appeared in the *New Masses* at that time?

Mr. MAGIL. I once more invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Were not the John Reed Clubs which were organized in the United States an instrumentality of the Communist Party?

Mr. MAGIL. Once more the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I state for the record that the John Reed Clubs were the subject of a finding by the Special Committee on Un-American activities in 1940. That the publication, *New Masses*, is a Communist periodical has been attested to not only by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, but also by the Attorney General of the United States, and the Subversive Activities Control Board. I request that Magil Exhibit 2 be filed with the committee records.

Mr. MOULDER. Without objection it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Magil Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Did you report for the *Daily Worker* the proceedings of the Ninth Convention of the Communist Party of the United States during the period June 24-28, 1936?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you deny the validity of that factual assertion, which is based on your own writing in the *Daily Worker* in the issue of June 26, 1936?

Mr. MAGIL. I am in fact invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. The proceedings of a convention subsequently held in May 1944, which temporarily transformed the Communist Party

into the Communist Political Association, record you as a member of the publicity and press committee for that convention. The committee also has information that you were in attendance at the Communist Party 16th National Convention, which was held in New York City February 9-12, 1957.

Would you care to verify your participation in these conclaves of party leadership during those years?

Mr. MAGIL. I invoke the protection of the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman I ask that the public references to the convention activities of Mr. Magil be identified as Magil Exhibit No. 3.

Mr. MOULDER. The exhibit referred to by counsel will be filed with the committee records.

(Document marked "Magil Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Has not your principal function in the Communist Party organization for many years past been as a writer and editor of party publications?

Mr. MAGIL. Once more I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. I want to show you a reproduction of an article from the *Daily Worker* dated January 15, 1957, in which your appointment as editor of *The Worker*, the Sunday edition of the *Daily Worker*, was announced by its editor in chief, John Gates.

The article states that your association with the *Daily Worker* began in 1928, when you joined the *Daily Worker* staff as a copy reader. The article states that you later served on the *Daily Worker* editorial board, and as the newspaper's correspondent in Israel and Mexico.

Would you confirm the accuracy of that biographical sketch?

Mr. MAGIL. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Subsequently on October 21, 1957, the *Daily Worker* reported that you would no longer serve as editor of the weekend *Worker*, because you had assumed the assignment of foreign editor of the *Daily Worker*, and your columns were to appear three times a week in the paper. Is that an accurate description of your journalistic assignment for the Communist Party for the period beginning October 1957?

Mr. MAGIL. Once more I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that these reproductions from the two issues of the *Daily Worker* just referred to be marked as "Magil Exhibits Nos. 4 and 5," and be incorporated in the record of the hearings.

Mr. MOULDER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Documents marked "Magil Exhibits Nos. 4 and 5." See Appendix, pp. 854 and 855.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Magil, the *Daily Worker* of January 15, 1957, to which I have just referred, Exhibit 4, states that in the late 1930's and early 1940's you were one of the editors of *New Masses*, and later became associate editor of the monthly *Masses and Mainstream*. Copies of these publications in our files show that at various times between 1930 and 1948 you were contributing editor, associate editor, and executive editor of *New Masses*. After *New Masses* merged with a magazine known as *Mainstream* to become *Masses and Mainstream* in March 1948, you were listed as contributing editor to the magazine in 1950 and associate editor during the years 1953-1956. Is this an

accurate representation of your position with these Communist publications?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I am invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Am I correct in describing these publications as official publications of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. MAGIL. Same answer, the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. The news items concerning the official positions held by Mr. Magil on the staff of *New Masses* and *Masses and Mainstream*, as reported in those publications, will be marked Magil Exhibit No. 6 and filed with the committee records.

Mr. MOULDER. The exhibit will be so marked and filed with the committee records.

(Document marked "Magil Exhibit No. 6" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Magil, your last announced assignment which we have established was as foreign editor of the *Daily Worker*, as a result of your appointment to that position in October 1957. The *Daily Worker* ceased publication on January 13, 1958, and only the weekly *Worker* continued to be issued. Earlier in that same month, John Gates, who had appointed you to your position, resigned from both the editorship of the *Daily Worker* and from the Communist Party. Your bylines did not continue to appear in the new weekly *Worker* after January 26, 1958. Would you tell the committee how long after that date you continued to function as a staff member on that Communist Party newspaper?

Mr. MAGIL. I again invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. The committee understands that you left *The Worker* staff, in fact, in the spring of 1958. Is that correct?

Mr. MAGIL. Once more with all due respect, I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you since the spring of 1958 continued to maintain your membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you since the spring of 1958 been denied any position of responsibility, such as you undoubtedly had as editor and writer for the party's official newspaper?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Has any position of responsibility in the Communist Party been denied to you, as the result of internal party disputes which followed after Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin at the 20th Soviet Party Congress in 1956?

Mr. MAGIL. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. In view of the facts in possession of the committee and which you have not denied, it appears that you have a great deal of information with reference to Communist Party activities during this critical period of 1956 to 1958, and with particular reference to the way in which the party dispute was finally settled. In your case, as a staff member of the official Communist Party newspaper, you were certainly in a key position to observe the developments throughout that crisis, which the then National Chairman William Z. Foster described as affecting both the organization and the ideology of the party. Would you agree with Foster's characterization of the internal dispute, which was featured so prominently in every issue of the *Daily Worker*, beginning in the spring of 1956?

Mr. MAGIL. Once more I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. In so characterizing the party dispute, I was quoting expressions which appeared as statements of William Z. Foster in the internal party bulletin, *Party Voice*, of January 1957, in an article entitled, "Origins of the Crisis in the CPUSA."

I will hand you a copy of the statement to which I have just referred and ask you whether you have ever read that article.

(Witness examines document.)

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. I respectfully request, Mr. Chairman, that this *Party Voice* article be marked Magil Exhibit No. 7, and filed in the committee's records.

Mr. MOULDER. The exhibit will be so marked.

(Document marked "Magil Exhibit No. 7" and retained in the committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Foster was the leading opponent, was he not, of John Gates and other so-called revisionists, who sought varying degrees of internal party democracy and a certain degree of independence of Moscow?

Mr. MAGIL. Once more I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, Foster's own position, which he stated at great length in the party's theoretical journal, *Political Affairs*, was to retain the party organization as it had operated in the past, as a revolutionary monolithic organization subservient to Moscow. He praised democratic centralism as a "Leninist form of organization," and declared it to be a major asset to the party. He called for the party's close sympathy with the first country of socialism, the USSR. He wanted no weakening of the principle of "proletarian internationalism," which was another way of expressing the international ties of the Communist Party in the United States with the party at Moscow.

In addition, in one of his first responses in the *Daily Worker* of April 4, 1956, to the Khrushchev revelations, William Z. Foster posed possible excuses for Stalin's excesses. He was an apologist for Stalin. He warned against jumping to conclusions, such as those to the effect that discipline was no longer necessary in the party organization in America.

Further, he bemoaned the current lack of a Communist International, or at least an international Communist journal, for the conveyance of what he said was brotherly criticism.

Foster even declared on this occasion, which was in April 1956, that "The famous Duclos article showed how helpful such criticism, when well-based, could be." This, of course, was reference to the French Communist leader, Jacques Duclos, who was Stalin's personal emissary in ousting Earl Browder from leadership of the American Communist Party 10 years earlier.

I would like to recall to your attention these two written statements by William Z. Foster, in order to refresh your recollection of the opposite views on party organization held by various top party national leaders in this very critical period between 1956 and 1958.

I deal at greater length with the position of Foster because his position has not yet been clearly established on the record, in contrast with the many other Communist statements that have been introduced, which proposed changes in the party structure following the

John Gates' scheme for an independent democratic Communist political action association.

Would you describe for the committee, Mr. Magil, what position you took in the course of this bitter dispute between the Foster and the Gates factions of the Communist Party in the United States during the period 1956-1958?

Mr. MAGIL. Respectfully I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, the article by William Z. Foster, which appeared in *Political Affairs* for December 1957, was introduced yesterday as Bittelman Exhibit No. 6. (See Appendix, pp. 781-795.)

I now request that Foster's article in the *Daily Worker* of April 4, 1956, be marked Magil Exhibit No. 8 and incorporated in the record of the hearings.

Mr. MOULDER. The exhibit will be so admitted.

(Document marked "Magil Exhibit No. 8." See Appendix, pp. 856-858.)

Mr. NITTLE. William Z. Foster, who as national chairman had every reason to be cognizant of the status of the party, declared that revisionists grew in number following Khrushchev's revelations and came to dominate most of the staff of the *Daily Worker*. He pointed out that the revisionists had, and I quote, "a majority of 27 to 1 on the New York State Committee [of the party], and it had a strong following in various other state committees of the Party." He said further that by December 1957, revisionism was "very strong in all the leading committees of the Party," and "Its main strength is that it controls and uses the *Daily Worker* as its special mouthpiece." I am quoting from the December 1957 issue of *Political Affairs*, previously introduced as Bittelman Exhibit No. 6.

Were you not yourself described as a revisionist as the result of your writings in the *Daily Worker*, which criticized excesses in discipline and lack of democracy in the party organization?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you not in fact a member of the majority, referred to by William Z. Foster as on the staff of the *Daily Worker*, who were described as revisionists and opposed to the Foster faction?

Mr. MAGIL. Same answer. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. As a matter of fact, Mr. Magil, you were even castigated by a Soviet spokesman who spoke on behalf of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is that not a correct statement?

Mr. MAGIL. Once more I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a reproduction of a very lengthy article which appeared under your byline in *The Worker* of July 22, 1956, and ask if this represented your position on American party organization in the light of Khrushchev's revelations of February 1956? That article will be designated as Magil Exhibit No. 9.

(Witness examined document.)

Mr. NITTLE. You have examined that, I presume. Mr. Chairman, I ask that Magil Exhibit No. 9 be incorporated in the record of the hearings.

Mr. MOULDER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Magil Exhibit No. 9." See Appendix, pp. 859-863.)

Mr. NITTLE. Perhaps you want to hold that for a moment, Mr. Magil. I shall make some references to it. You will note that part

of your article is entitled "For a New Look at Democratic Centralism," and begins by stating:

Revelations of abuses and crimes that took place in the Soviet Union under Stalin's one-man rule have focussed attention on the question of democracy under socialism and within the Communist Parties.

(Representative Bruce left the hearing room.)

Mr. NITTLE. You state further:

As our discussion has developed, the question has occasionally been raised whether the chief structural principle of Communist Parties in all countries, democratic centralism, is valid for the United States.

But in that article, Mr. Magil, you do not advocate the complete abandonment of the principle of democratic centralism, do you?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. You do complain that some party members "write and speak as if our Party were the most undemocratic organization in the United States," and then you answer that the party, as a representative of the working class, is "by its very nature immeasurably more democratic than the parties of big business or other organizations * * * irrespective of the practices and procedures that prevail in them."

You are far from agreement with John Gates and many other so-called revisionists who expounded against the undemocratic, autocratic, Soviet—subservient nature of the party in this period, is that not correct?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. You were to the right, but not too far. Is that a correct characterization of your position?

Mr. MAGIL. Once more I stand on the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. You demonstrate yourself to be quite a scholar with relation to Communist Party doctrine and theory, and indeed of Soviet history, in your series of writings during that period. You trace the history of democratic centralism to Lenin's Bolshevik organization in Russia. But you maintain conditions necessitated "extreme centralization in the Marxist party, sometimes at the expense of internal democracy, and strong discipline, often akin to military discipline." You even quote Lenin's instructions to other Communist parties that they be built on a democratic centralism principle and embody, as you said, an "iron discipline bordering on military discipline." You even found benefit to the American party organization in its adherence to such a system, did you not?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

(Representative Johansen entered the hearing room.)

Mr. NITTLE. Did you realize at the time you wrote this that the Communist Party organization was in fact a paramilitary organization?

Mr. MAGIL. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Let us examine more fully the changes that you envision for the party in 1956. You report that a Leninist provision for the election of party leadership has not been adhered to in the practice of democratic centralism. You declare, and this is your language,

Though conditions in our country are certainly much freer than they were in czarist Russia, how many members of Party committees—section, region, state committees and the National Committee—owe their posts to appointment rather

than election, or, as it is sometimes euphemistically called, "co-option?" And can any Party member recall when he participated in a referendum?

You proposed that the party organization should start practicing democratic centralism, in what you term its original meaning, calling for election of leadership and some participation by membership in important policy decisions.

You also asked for, and I quote, "the right to dissent, so deeply embedded in the American democratic tradition * * * to be incorporated into the practice of our Party."

These are very mild suggestions that you made for the change in party practices, Mr. Magil, but is it a correct description to say that they retain discipline and enforced execution of party policy directed from the top?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you familiar, and I assume that you were, with the statement of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, appearing in the *Daily Worker* several weeks prior to the time your article appeared, which condemned Communists who employ the Khrushchev speeches to question the present Soviet leadership and to break the monolithic unity of the World Communist Movement? You were familiar with that statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Soviet Union, were you not, that appeared shortly before your article?

Mr. MAGIL. Once more I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. You did not in your criticisms object at all to the acceptance of Soviet leadership; is that a correct statement?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. For the moment, I would like to recall for you various statements by other American Communists, at that same time, regarding the effect the Soviet Central Committee had on the Communist dispute in this country and other countries.

A Communist writing under the initials "E. S." in *Party Voice*, dated November 1956, stated this:

Since the birth of the Soviet Union we held a view that to be at all critical of the USSR was to play into the hands of those capitalists who wished to destroy that country.

May I interpolate a comment. This, by the way, was exactly what the Soviet Communist Central Committee again declared on June 30, 1956, in its warning against straying Communists. The writer to whom I referred continued as follows:

Certain corollaries to the theory of "everything good, nothing bad," about the Soviet Union developed as a logical result. Namely: since the CPSU was the first to establish socialism, the CPSU was the wisest of parties and therefore the final arbiter of theoretical disputes; if you were critical of the Soviet Union, you were anti-Socialist; if you disagreed with a CPSU analysis you were splitting the unity of the international working class and aiding the Bourgeoisie. It was in such a context that the theory of "monolithic unity" of working class parties grew and flourished.

The same Communist noted that the party's "highly rated theory of uncritical socialist unity" meant, and these are his words:

If the C.P.S.U. had all the answers, if everything they did was right, what need had we to struggle with finding our own answers—just copy theirs. And if you said no, why that's tantamount to criticizing their institutions. * * *

* * * * *

This failure to strike our own national path—related closely to our uncritical unity approach and glorification of things Soviet—not only made us a miniature Soviet party in both organizational form and domestic outlook—it seriously limited our ability to properly assess our foreign policy outlook.

This outspoken Communist then indicated his support of a statement issued by the National Committee of the Communist Party, United States of America, on June 25, 1956, stating that all Communist parties had a duty to criticize the theory and practice of other parties in a “friendly” way, including the Soviet Communist Party. This National Committee statement, it might be noted, was issued before the Soviet Central Committee indicted such criticism of the Soviet Union, and before the Soviet Central Committee’s call to end such practice, and to return to monolithic unity of world Communists under Soviet leadership. The National Committee statement of the CPUSA was issued prior to the Soviet Central Committee indictment of the Italian Communist Party leader, which was to the same effect.

I might say I introduced into the record this morning a report of an outcropping of the same problem in the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party, the very issue we are discussing here.

I quote further from “E. S.” in *Party Voice*, November 1956, in which he reports on the subsequent developments in the independence movement of some Communists outside the Soviet Union as follows:

Unfortunately neither the Soviet party, the bulk of foreign parties or our party has yet come to grips with the vital importance of practicing such relations [that is, of independent action]. * * * Read carefully the section of the June 30, 1956, C.C. C.P.S.U. [Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union] resolution dealing with various comments of foreign parties. Where the foreign statements support the C.P.S.U. approach that is fine. But directly preceding the part referring to “certain of our friends” (later identified as Togliatti) who are not “clear,” a frightening lecture about “international unity . . . splitting the international workers movement . . . weakening the forces of the socialist camp” and thus distinctly linking the type of “unclearly” shown by a Togliatti or a Nenni or a Steve Nelson or Johnny Gates with giving aid to the enemies of socialism and splitting unity.

It goes on to say that the great debate, Marxist exchange, and birth of independent thinking, that arose after the Khrushchev report, has suffered sharply following the resolution of the Central Committee Communist Party Soviet Union:

Instead of inquiry and examination, we have idle praise. I am shocked in particular by the quieting of Comrade Togliatti. The manner in which most of the foreign parties went into idolatrous praise of the C [entral] C [ommittee] resolution, and dropped their own questions is very disturbing.

Then this Communist, writing at that time, referred to the United States Communist Party organization and said, “The old cliches pour out from the mouths of innumerable members and leaders * * *.”

Another Communist writing to the editor of the *Daily Worker* on November 7, 1956, while you were on the staff, described the resolution of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee as having “served to put a brake on our thinking.”

Still another Communist, whose words in *Party Voice* for December 1956 have already been introduced as an exhibit in these hearings, charges that National Party Chairman William Z. Foster and General Secretary Eugene Dennis had demonstrated “cringing subservience” in their responses to the Soviet Central Committee warning of June 30, 1956.

Do you agree, Mr. Magil, with these characterizations, by members of the Communist Party themselves, of the effect on the American Communist Party organization inspired by the Soviet Communist Central Committee resolution?

Mr. MAGIL. Respectfully I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Do I understand that, in invoking the fifth amendment, you are saying that if you were to answer the question it would incriminate you or could possibly incriminate you?

Mr. MAGIL. It might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Pardon?

Mr. MAGIL. Yes, I say that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. JOHANSEN. And it might thereby make you subject to prosecution?

Mr. MAGIL. That is right.

Mr. JOHANSEN. With whom would it incriminate you? With the Government of the United States or with the Soviet Union?

Mr. MAGIL. I am a citizen of the United States, and I am speaking in legal terms when I speak.

Mr. JOHANSEN. With whom do you feel you might be subject to self-incrimination if you answered these questions?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MAGIL. To reply might tend to incriminate me under the laws of the United States and its political subdivisions.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Were you provided or offered any opportunity of immunity with respect to such possible self-incrimination if you answered these questions?

Mr. MAGIL. No, I received no such offer.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Would you feel your way clear to answer these questions if there were such a possibility?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MAGIL. I would in that case have to consult my counsel.

Mr. JOHANSEN. We are trying to find out facts and information that go to the security of the United States, with which you identify yourself, and it would seem to me that if your basic loyalty is to the United States, you would gladly cooperate with this committee in providing that information.

Mr. MAGIL. I don't feel that I can forego the constitutional protection that is afforded me by the United States Constitution.

Mr. JOHANSEN. In that case, I assume your answers, if given, would be incriminating. That is all.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that these two documents from which I have quoted be marked Magil Exhibits Nos. 10 and 11, respectively. I would also like to include as Magil Exhibit No. 12 the exact statement from *The Worker* of July 8, 1956, entitled "Dennis Comments on Soviet CP Statement," in which the party's general secretary, Eugene Dennis, humbly welcomed the "advice" of the Soviet Central Committee. I request that these three exhibits be made a part of the record of the hearings.

Mr. MOULDER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Documents marked "Magil Exhibits Nos. 10, 11, and 12," respectively. See Appendix, pp. 864-869, 870, and 871.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Magil, as the record demonstrates, the nature of the party's organization and of its relationship to the Soviet Communist leadership was not finally determined for almost 2 years

more. As your editor in chief of the *Daily Worker*, John Gates, described events in this period, which Foster confirmed in his statements already in the record here, the Gates revisionist views were held by a majority of those in the party's most important leadership positions throughout this period, and controlled the *Daily Worker*. Foster's supporters on the National Committee level included Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Robert Thompson, and eventually Eugene Dennis. This conflict went on and on, and the party's 16th National Convention in February 1957 passed resolutions which merely reflected some of the contending views of the party leadership, then still in stalemate.

Can you tell us something about this struggle within the leadership to obtain supremacy? That is to say, the struggle by the Foster group, which was for monolithic unity and subservience to Moscow, to obtain dominance over the other group which at that time was in the majority, controlled by John Gates, and might be called the John Gates revisionist faction?

Mr. MAGIL. Respectfully, I again must decline, invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. You were closely associated with John Gates on the *Daily Worker* staff, were you not?

Mr. MAGIL. Once more, I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, we have set forth various published statements of John Gates as an exhibit. I ask that the above from *The Story of An American Communist* by Gates be identified as Magil Exhibit No. 13.

Mr. MOULDER. So ordered.

(Document marked "Magil Exhibit No. 13" retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Magil did not the Soviet Communist leaders intervene directly in this lengthy dispute, and did they not intervene on the side of Foster's minority leadership faction?

Mr. JOHANSEN. That was as opposed to the John Gates faction.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Let us look at the evidence for a moment. I refer you to a rather indirect endorsement of the Foster stand published in *Pravda*, the official organ of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and the Moscow Party Regional Committee. This was carried in the *New York Times* on September 24, 1956, at page 20, and will be identified as Magil Exhibit No. 14.

Pravda, in the course of reviewing a Foster book they recently published in the Russian language, eulogized Foster for his past record in struggling "for the purity and unity of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. against opportunists and diversionists." Was not his *Pravda* statement a clear and unmistakable indication that the Communist Party Soviet Union was supporting the Foster faction against the Gates faction?

(Witness examined article and conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MAGIL. I again invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Isn't it by such communications that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union communicates with the Communist parties in the World Communist Movement?

Mr. MAGIL. I invoke the fifth amendment.

(Representative Bruce entered the hearing room, and Representative Moulder left the room.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that Magil Exhibit No. 14 be made a part of the record of these hearings.

Mr. JOHANSEN (presiding). Without objection, it will be made a part of the record.

(Document marked "Magil Exhibit No. 14." See Appendix, p. 872.)

Mr. NITTLE. By November 1956, the collective leadership in the Soviet Union, to which Mr. McNamara referred in his testimony this morning as a collective leadership established in Russia to solve the succession problems on the death of Stalin, began to issue a series of directives aimed against the John Gates faction, and in support of Foster's opposition, despite the fact that the John Gates faction was then far stronger in power and membership than the Foster faction.

I hand you a translation of an article which appeared in the November 1956 issue of *Kommunist*, which is a theoretical journal published in Moscow, as the official mouthpiece of the Central Committee, Communist Party, Soviet Union. The Central Committee, I think you understand, held supreme power then over the Soviet Government.

(Witness examined article.)

Mr. NITTLE. What you have there, Mr. Magil, is a translation by the Library of Congress of that article, which will be marked for identification as Magil Exhibit No. 15-a.

I also hand you two articles from the *Daily Worker* of November 26 and 27, 1956, which comment on the action taken by the Moscow publication to which I have just referred. This may refresh your recollection of those matters appearing in the newspaper on which you were a staff member at that time. These will be identified as Magil Exhibits Nos. 15-b and 15-c, respectively.

(Witness examines documents.)

Mr. NITTLE. Meanwhile, Mr. Chairman, I ask that the last three exhibits to which I have just referred be offered in the record.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Documents marked "Magil Exhibits Nos. 15-a, b, and c," respectively. See Appendix, pp. 873, 874; 875; and 876.)

Mr. NITTLE. The *Daily Worker*, then under John Gates' leadership, dared to criticize the Soviet use of armed troops to put down the Hungarian peoples uprising which had occurred in October and November of 1956. Is that not a correct statement?

Mr. MAGIL. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. The editorial from the previously referred to Moscow *Kommunist*, on the other hand, called attention to the loyalty with which many other Communist parties had supported the Soviet armed intervention in Hungary. It then referred to the *Daily Worker* in the United States in these words:

Naturally, there are people who, in moments of serious events, show instability, fall under the influence of petty bourgeois prejudices, and lose their ability to appraise the situation. * * * But what can we say about people who call themselves Marxists, like the author of the editorial in the New York "Daily Worker" of November 5th, and still put on the same level the events in Egypt and Hungary? This author babbles about the right of self-determination, having in mind both Egypt which the imperialist interventionists had invaded, and Hungary where Soviet troops came following the call of the workers and farmers government to help the socialist, patriotic forces. This position of the author of [the article]

in the "Daily Worker" does neither prove the firmness of his principles nor his understanding of the meaning of the processes which go on in the world.

Was this a direct reference to the naivete of those seeking to end servile American Communist support to all Soviet policies?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Does it appear at all extraordinary to you as a man experienced in the affairs of this party, that a publication which is an official publication of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union should pay attention to you and to John Gates? Here the collective leadership, the very top echelon of Soviet power, which now so sorely troubles the world, has the time to pay attention to you and to John Gates. Is that extraordinary to you?

Mr. MAGIL. Once more I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, while you and John Gates and the revisionists were in the majority, this did not bother Eugene Dennis, the party secretary. He also jumped on the Soviet bandwagon with William Z. Foster. He defended the Soviet troop intervention in Hungary and castigated the *Daily Worker* stand. That is their position as recorded in the *Daily Worker* of November 29, 1956, which will be identified as Magil Exhibit No. 16.

I ask that it be incorporated, Mr. Chairman, in the hearing record.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Magil Exhibit No. 16." See Appendix, pp. 877-881.)

Mr. NITTLE. Now, strangely enough in your case, Mr. Magil, the exhibits show that the *Daily Worker*, while it was under the control and editorship of John Gates, refused to alter its stand despite these clear messages from Moscow, despite these clear warnings and denunciations. You resisted that power play, did you not?

Mr. MAGIL. Once more, I cannot answer, and I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Isn't it a principle of the monolithic unified party, and of democratic centralism, that when the top leadership in the party winks, the party members get the hint and obey?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. When the Central Committee of the Soviet Union in such plain language "winked" at you and John Gates, why didn't you and John Gates take the hint?

Mr. MAGIL. Once more I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Having singled out the New York *Daily Worker* in its pronouncements, Moscow, finding that the message was not recognized immediately, by December 1956 began to attack the entire body of American Communists "guilty" of trying to revise the traditional party organization, did it not?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a translation from *Party Life* of December 1956, identified as Magil Exhibit No. 17, prepared by the Library of Congress, from the monthly journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

(Witness examined document.)

Mr. NITTLE. While you are reading that, let me note for the record that the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party made the following declaration through this journal:

Not infrequently, the critical appraisal and analysis of the past activity of the Communist parties are being used by anti-Marxists and unstable elements in order to slander the previous activity of their party and to undermine its ideological and political foundations. The rightist [elements] within the Communist Party of the USA came up with an open revision of Marxism-Leninism. They maintain that Marxism is obsolete, Leninism is a specifically Russian phenomenon, and the economic teaching of Marxism-Leninism does not fit the analysis of the capitalism in the USA where the latter develops according to "specific laws." They stand up against the dictatorship of the proletariat, against the Lenin-type party, in place of which they offer a massive "association of Communist propaganda," while, at the same time, they say that Socialism is a matter of the far future. During the pre-Convention discussion which developed, party leaders loyal to the Marxist-Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism, as well as its organization repulse the anti-Party views.

Now, with the publication of that article in *Party Life*, an official publication of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, dated December 1956, Foster and his supporters were unmistakably backed by the Soviet Union, were they not, Mr. Magil?

Mr. MAGIL. Again, I must invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Magil, in view of your invocation of the fifth amendment, I think we should inquire whether you are presently a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MAGIL. I must respectfully decline to answer, again invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you censured by the Communist Party U.S.A. for your revisionism?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. It appears that you lost your official position on the *Daily Worker*, or what is now *The Worker*, because of your views about monolithic unity and democratic centralism, is that not correct?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Did I understand, in response to a question asked earlier, that you volunteered the information you were a citizen of the United States?

Mr. MAGIL. Yes, I am.

Mr. JOHANSEN. On the basis of the exhibits and the evidence that has been introduced, I gather, despite your invocation of the fifth amendment, that you possessed or retained sufficient characteristics of independence and right of dissent of an American citizen to get yourself in the doghouse with the bosses in the Kremlin. I would just like to say to you that I regret exceedingly that you don't retain enough of it to help this committee establish the record of that persistent effort by the Kremlin to dictate and intervene in the affairs of citizens of the United States. I would like very much to invite you to help us to that end.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the statement from *Party Life* be identified as Magil Exhibit No. 17, and incorporated in the hearings.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Magil Exhibit No. 17." See Appendix, pp. 882, 883.)

Mr. NITTLE. Now the chronology unfolds. The Communist Party of the United States then held its 16th National Convention in New York City, February 9 to 12 in the year 1957. This is subsequent to that *Party Life* notification. You were in attendance at that National Convention, were you not, Mr. Magil?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I must decline to answer, invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. I assert as a fact that you were in attendance. Now would you affirm or deny the correctness of that statement?

Mr. MAGIL. I am invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. As one of those who were in attendance at that convention, would you agree with the characterization that the convention was a compromise among the various contending forces within the top leadership at that time?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. In response to the Gates revisionist forces, there were certain changes in the party constitution adopted at that convention, although in fact the structure, organization, and discipline remained the same as demanded by the Foster forces.

Just how those constitutional changes were to be implemented, or even allowed in practice, was to depend finally on which faction within the American Communist Party would come out on top, isn't that correct?

Mr. MAGIL. Once more, I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you copies of your own articles on the convention which appeared in *The Worker* of March 24, 1957, and March 31, 1957, respectively identified as Magil Exhibits Nos. 18-a and 18-b, in which you declared that "real unity around the convention decisions still has to be achieved," and the "fight to rebuild the Communist Party * * * has just begun."

(Witness examined documents.)

(Representative Johansen left the hearing room.)

Mr. NITTLE. In those statements, Mr. Magil, you were, of course, referring to the stalemate which continued to exist after the 1957 convention of the Communist Party, the stalemate which continued to exist between these two contending forces: the John Gates type revisionists; and those supporting William Z. Foster's appeal for retention of the traditional party organization rigidly faithful to all Soviet dictates. Isn't that what you say in your own articles?

Mr. MAGIL. Once more I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that Magil Exhibits Nos. 18-a and 18-b be admitted into evidence.

Mr. BRUCE (presiding). Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Documents marked "Magil Exhibits Nos. 18-a and 18-b," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Magil, in view of your position at that time, as a revisionist prior to your appearance at the 16th National Convention in 1957, and in view of the fact that you may not have had access at that time to the top councils of the Communist Party, I would like to recall to you a statement made by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in which he reported that before the convention opened a pre-convention meeting of top party leaders worked out a strategy later routinely adopted by the convention, whereby all offices in the party would be abolished and a new administrative committee would be created from representatives of the various contending factions to direct party business.

(Representative Johansen returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. NITTLE. This was a collective leadership, being established in the American Communist Party and arising out of this internal party dispute between the Gates and the Foster factions, comparable, was it not, to the very same procedure and solution adopted by the

Communist Party, Soviet Union, in the establishment of a collective leadership to resolve their own troubles of succession to top party leadership in Russia after the death of Stalin in 1953?

Mr. MAGIL. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. In creating this collective leadership while the party power struggle continued, the party organization in America did in fact copy and imitate the Soviet Communist Party which was at that very time operating a collective leadership, did it not?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. The collective leadership in the Soviet Union was actually the body called the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is that not correct?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. The Soviet Party went into a collective leadership, containing representatives of both contending factions, because Khrushchev was then contending and struggling with Malenkov and Molotov, to determine what faction was going to emerge and dominate the dictatorship of the proletariat in Soviet Russia. You know that is a fact as a matter of history because Khrushchev has told us about it, hasn't he?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Magil, did not Soviet intervention, both direct and also through the intermediary of a foreign Communist Party, continue right up to and during the 16th National Convention?

Mr. MAGIL. Once more I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you deny that occurred?

Mr. MAGIL. Same answer. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you have knowledge of those facts to which the question relates?

Mr. MAGIL. I am invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a translation which will be identified as Magil Exhibit No. 19. It is from the Soviet newspaper, *Soviet Russia*, dated February 3, 1957, and a translation prepared by the Library of Congress. This date, February 3, 1957, is significant, and I ask you note it, because it is a week prior to the opening of the 16th National Convention of the American Communist Party.

(Witness examined document.)

Mr. NITTLE. I assume you have had an opportunity to examine that. The item in that Soviet publication talks about deviations which have appeared in the various Communist parties in non-Communist nations, and which it says help the bourgeoisie. That article makes specific reference to the United States, and here is what it says—

in the USA, where the impact of the bourgeois ideology upon the working class is greatest, rightist elements in the ranks of the American Communist Party now suggest a revision of Marxism-Leninism. Recently, these elements have been particularly furiously attacking Leninism. They declare it a "typically Russian" phenomenon, and many principles of Marxism—"obsolete" and "not fitting" the USA.

This Moscow publication singled out Joseph Clark, managing editor of the "international department" of *The Worker*, at that time the *Daily Worker*, for particular condemnation as a right deviationist, declaring he had denied "the universal character of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism."

The publication also appealed for more "proletarian internationalism" on the part of all Communists everywhere.

Was this not a way of stating that Moscow was going to determine the ideology, the organization, and the policies of Communist parties everywhere, and that upstarts on the *Daily Worker* like yourself and John Gates would have to toe that line or get out? Is that not correct?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully ask that Magil Exhibit No. 19 be incorporated in the record of the hearings.

Mr. JOHANSEN (presiding). Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Magil Exhibit No. 19." See Appendix, pp. 884, 885.)

Mr. NITTLE. You had not yet come to realize, despite your profound knowledge of Communist practices and history, that the Communist Party was a paramilitary organization, and that it did not tolerate lieutenants in its various army groups throughout the world dictating to the general staff and the high command at Moscow. You, as a private first class, and John Gates, a lieutenant in the American party here, were going to tell the commanding general, headquarters, Moscow, how to run this army, weren't you?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I must decline to answer, invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you realize at that time, with your experience and understanding, that this could not be done?

Mr. MAGIL. Same answer. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you now realize that it just can't be done in the Communist Party, United States of America?

Mr. MAGIL. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Or have you bowed to the discipline of the Communist Party, USA, in order to retain your membership in the Communist Party today? Have you accepted and done your penance?

Mr. MAGIL. I invoke the fifth amendment.

(Representative Moulder entered the hearing room.)

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, I suspect, translated into plain English, this means he got fired, but he is still loyal to the boss.

Mr. NITTLE. After being singled out by Moscow, do you recall that Joseph Clark, on the staff of the *Daily Worker*, then replied in his column in the *Daily Worker* on February 6, 1957, denying the validity of the Moscow newspaper statements, and telling Moscow that American Communists would find their own path hereafter?

Mr. MAGIL. I again invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a reproduction of that article in the *Daily Worker*, and ask you whether that refreshes your recollection?

(Witness examined document.)

Mr. NITTLE. Does that refresh your recollection, Mr. Magil?

Mr. MAGIL. I must again invoke the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Magil Exhibit No. 20." See Appendix, pp. 886-888.)

Mr. NITTLE. Now, after Joseph Clark said "nuts" to the Russians, he then gave up the fight, didn't he? As a matter of fact, he resigned from the foreign editorship of the *Daily Worker* and resigned from the Communist Party in September 1957. Is that not a correct statement?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. As a matter of fact, you succeeded Joseph Clark in the post of foreign editor of the *Daily Worker*, did you not, Mr. Magil, after his resignation in September 1957?

Mr. MAGIL. I am once more invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. As a *Daily Worker* staff member and participant in the party's 16th National Convention held in February 1957, you are familiar with the attempt by the French Communist Party leader, to whom I previously referred, named Jacques Duclos, now again serving as the intermediary for Moscow, to stimulate a settlement of the American party dispute in absolute conformity with the line laid down by Moscow? Would you give us an account of the 1957 Duclos intervention?

Mr. MAGIL. I am invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. I beg your pardon?

Mr. MAGIL. I am invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a reproduction of various pages from the *Daily Worker*, dated February 11, 1957, which states that Jacques Duclos on January 21, 1957, sent a message to the American Communist Party convention, ostensibly on behalf of the French Communist Party Central Committee. According to this article, Duclos told the American Communists—

the Communist Party can play its role of revolutionary party of the working class acting in the interest of all the people and the nation only if it is built and fights in the framework of the fundamental principles which have been tested in other countries, in the first place in the Soviet Union, thanks to the victory of 1917: only if it determines its internal life and its political struggle in the framework of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, only if it fights for its leading role in the revolutionary struggle for socialism.

Duclos then had harsh words to say about the proposed convention resolutions, that is, of the 16th Convention of the American Communist Party, which still reflected the views of John Gates and revisionists such as yourself, and here is what he said:

In examining with great attention the opinions expressed by different comrades in your discussion and the official documents like the Draft Resolution for the convention, the Nov. 6 statement of the CPUSA concerning the events in Poland and Hungary and other documents—we believe that we discern dangerous departures from these principles; we have at the same time, however, been happy to see that a more profound study of the real facts has already permitted you to make certain precisions and happy corrections for our common cause and the future of the USA.

The *Daily Worker* also reports a second French Communist message. Duclos, in this instance as before, acted as the messenger for the Moscow leadership. This message contained substantially the same criticism, and it was received by the American Communist Party on February 8, 1957, the eve of its convention. Does this refresh your recollection, Mr. Magil, and will you comment on the reception which the Duclos message received in party circles in this country?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. JOHANSEN (presiding). The committee will stand in recess for 5 minutes.

(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. JOHANSEN. The committee will come to order. Counsel will proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully request that the *Daily Worker* of February 11, 1957, reporting the Duclos effort of 1957, be marked Magil Exhibit No. 21 and incorporated in the hearings.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

(Document marked "Magil Exhibit No. 21." See Appendix, pp. 889-893.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Magil, it is stated in this same issue of the *Daily Worker* that General Secretary Eugene Dennis answered Duclos, claiming that decisions would be made by the collective judgment of the party's convention. William Z. Foster, on the other hand, is reported as replying in this way:

In its letter of greetings, signed by secretary Jacques Duclos, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France is correct in warning us of revisionist tendencies in our Party. Many in our Party have been saying this for months past. And its truth is manifested by the many basic amendments made in our main resolution by the various state conventions.

Foster is further reported as arguing that—

this convention should welcome the sage and friendly advice of our French comrades and others.

Now, actually, was not Foster responding to headquarters in Moscow, and not to a French party?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I must decline to answer, invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Didn't Foster know that Duclos was voicing the sentiments and directives of Moscow; he, Duclos, acting merely as a representative or mouthpiece of the Moscow leadership?

Mr. MAGIL. Same answer. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Foster knew that the Duclos letter supported his faction in the power struggle, just as in 1945 a Duclos article in a French magazine helped to catapult him into the leadership of the party organization in America by removing the then party boss, Earl Browder. Don't you agree that this was the reason Foster welcomed Duclos' interference again in 1957?

Mr. MAGIL. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, regarding the effect of the Duclos intervention in 1945 on the removal of Browder, the *Daily Worker* of February 11, 1957, on whose staff you were employed, leaves no one to doubt what the reception was. Here is what the article says:

It was an article by Duclos in 1945, condemning the program of the Communist Political Action Association headed by Earl Browder as revisionism of Marxism-Leninism that led to the upheaval which resulted then in the reconstitution of the Communist Party, the expulsion later of Browder * * *.

In view of your own recorded activity at the founding convention of the Communist Political Association during World War II, established at that time while we were associated with the Soviet Union in the prosecution of the war against Hitler, and which was an act of temporary expediency of the American Communist Party at the direction of Stalin, can you confirm that the later abandonment of the Communist Political Association in 1945 and the ouster of the long-time party leader, Earl Browder, was actually Stalin's work and carried out through a French intermediary?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, I would like to read to you a few charges made by Earl Browder himself, as recently as March 1960, which appeared in *Harper's Magazine*, March 1960, regarding the role that Stalin

played in the 1945 episode when Earl Browder was removed from party leadership in America:

Why was Stalin able to purge the leadership of the American party, and put at its head a man who had been an isolated minority within that leadership? And how could this be done anonymously, as it were, by a simple article in an obscure French journal?

In order to understand this one must ignore the widely spread fables about "Comintern representatives" traveling from Moscow to direct Communist parties in all countries. That old method was long obsolete, and never very effective. The only solid representatives of Stalin among the American Communists were Americans themselves—a little band of "old timers"—

presumably like Alexander Bittelman, who was a witness yesterday—occupying strategic posts in the party apparatus. They were a political counterpart of an old-time religious sect, devoted to dogma, abjuring independent thinking, and relying entirely on the head of the church for leadership. For them Communism was a religion, Stalin was Mohammed, and Moscow was Mecca.

Browder further said that one of the reasons these Communists supported his leadership was "because so long as Moscow did not speak out against me, I was presumed to be Stalin's deputy in America in the hierarchy of authority. I was always aware that my leading position could be lost overnight, and that the party might break up, if *either* of these factors—prosperity for the party and presumed Moscow blessings—disappeared."

Browder, however, admitted that "despite a decade of undisputed leadership, I knew I could not maintain that position in open struggle against Moscow influence."

Now, on the basis of your experience, Mr. Magil, were the most solid representatives of Stalin in America, the American Communists themselves?

MR. MAGIL. Again I must invoke the fifth amendment.

MR. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that these statements of Earl Browder, which appeared in *Harper's Magazine* in March 1960, be marked Magil Exhibit No. 22 and made a part of the committee's records.

MR. JOHANSEN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Magil Exhibit No. 22" and retained in committee files.)

MR. NITTLE. In the course of your own association in the Communist Party, did you obtain any personal knowledge regarding activity by foreign Communist emissaries in America?

MR. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

MR. NITTLE. Do you have such knowledge?

MR. MAGIL. I invoke the fifth amendment.

MR. NITTLE. Mr. Magil, if you were to indicate that you didn't have such knowledge, how would that possibly incriminate you?

MR. MAGIL. That question may be part of a chain, one of the links in the chain that might conceivably tend to incriminate me.

MR. NITTLE. Only if you had such knowledge, is that not correct?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

MR. MAGIL. I must stand on my constitutional rights and invoke the fifth amendment.

MR. JOHANSEN. When the witness says he must, he means he elects to do so.

MR. MAGIL. I choose to do so.

MR. JOHANSEN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have something more to say?

Mr. MAGIL. I simply wanted to add "and the Constitution permits me to do so."

Mr. JOHANSEN. There is no question about that, but the use of the term might suggest that the committee was somehow putting the witness under a compulsion to do something. I want the record very clear that the witness elects to exercise his right under the Constitution to invoke it. That is correct, is it not?

Mr. MAGIL. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. This committee in February 1947 called before it one Gerhart Eisler. The committee hearings established beyond question that between the years 1933 and 1938, Eisler was a Communist International representative in America and was instrumental in the control and direction of Communist Party operations here. The Communist International was ostensibly dissolved in 1943, but it is well known that the actual work of that organization continued and was eventually taken over by the foreign department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Soviet Union. The committee hearings showed that Eisler had returned to the United States from other foreign assignments in 1941, and that his activities prior to the 1947 hearings of this committee included those of a publicist and analyst of party policy. His writings appeared in the *Daily Worker* under the name of Hans Berger, which was only one of his many aliases. As a result of your long tenure on the *Daily Worker* staff, did you acquire any information of the activities of Gerhart Eisler, a Soviet representative here?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I must decline to answer. I choose to decline to answer, invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. He is now in East Germany, I believe, helping carry out Soviet policy there. Is that not a matter of general knowledge at this time?

Mr. MAGIL. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Magil, the Moscow and the Duclos intervention of 1957 did not have an immediate, or you might call it an overnight, effect as it did in 1945, because the Gates group still held a majority of leading party posts in the country, as well as control of the *Daily Worker*, until as late as December 1957. In fact, as recorded in *The Worker* for March 10, 1957, the new National Administrative Committee, the collective leadership of the party within the United States, sent a reply to Jacques Duclos, disagreeing with his attack on the organization in America. Is that not a fact?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that *The Worker* article be identified as Magil Exhibit No. 23, and incorporated in the record.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Without objection, it will be so incorporated.

(Document marked "Magil Exhibit No. 23." See Appendix, pp. 894, 895.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Magil, the Soviet Communist Party had also sent a "message of greeting" to the 1957 party convention in America, in which it observed that the party was "heroically fighting for the preservation of the party, for the strengthening of the unity of its ranks on the principles of Marxism-Leninism," but made no reference to the Gates group whom it had identified previously as the troublemakers.

I hand you a translation from *Pravda* which is to be identified as Magil Exhibit No. 24, and dated February 16, 1957. *Pravda*, as has been mentioned, is the Soviet Communist Central Committee organ. I also hand you an article from the March 1957 issue of *International Affairs*, which is published in the English language in Moscow, and identified as Magil Exhibit No. 25.

I ask you to examine them with reference to the question whether the Soviet Communists publicized the 16th National Convention in 1957 as being a victory over the Gates forces, and again castigated the American "revisionists" even though they continued to hold a majority of party leadership posts after the convention?

Mr. MAGIL. What is your question?

Mr. NITTLE. Did not the article in *Pravda* regard the 16th National Convention as a victory for the Foster faction, and again condemn and castigate the so-called Gates' revisionist faction?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MAGIL. I again invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I request that the last two documents be identified as Magil Exhibits Nos. 24 and 25, respectively, and incorporated in the record of the hearings.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Without objection, they will be entered into the record.

(Documents marked "Magil Exhibits Nos. 24 and 25," respectively. See Appendix, pp. 896-903 and 904-906.)

Mr. NITTLE. Do you also recall, Mr. Magil, that in June 1957 Alan Max, who was one of the *Daily Worker* editors serving with you on the staff, wrote an open letter to the Moscow editors of *International Affairs* protesting against any descriptions of the convention in America as a rejection of the revisionist forces in the party?

Mr. MAGIL. I again invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. In his protest, Max stated that *Pravda* in Moscow; the French Communist publication *L'Humanité*; various Marxist publications in Latin America; and *World News*, a Communist publication issued from London, England, all made similar, as he said, "erroneous" conclusions about the party convention in the United States. Did not Alan Max further say, and I quote: "How these publications happened to carry such similar reports, I do not know"?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. When *International Affairs* printed Max's open letter of protest in the July 1957 issue, it attached a rebuttal statement by William Z. Foster, who declared Max was in error and that the above international publications directed from Moscow were correct. The editors of the Moscow-based *International Affairs* added that they agreed with Foster rather than with the *Daily Worker* editor, Alan Max. Do you believe, Mr. Magil, that this was really a deliberate campaign on the part of Moscow, and that Alan Max was rather naive if he did not know how these publications happened to carry, as he said, such similar reports?

Mr. MAGIL. Once more I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Alan Max knew, and you knew, why these international Communist publications were carrying this line, is that not correct?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the statements from the July 1957 issue of *International Affairs* be made a part of the record of the hearings.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Magil Exhibit No. 26." See Appendix, pp. 907-911.)

Mr. NITTLE. In August 1957, while this factional dispute was continuing within the American Communist Party, the Moscow *Kommunist*, previously referred to, carried an attack on John Gates, written by a Soviet writer named B. Ponomarev, who has been identified as a member of the Presidium of the Soviet Communist Party. This Soviet Communist official, B. Ponomarev, declared that the struggle against revisionists was "acute" in the United States, Canada, England, and Brazil. The most notable attack, at least in Communist circles, appeared in the December 1957 issue of *The Kommunist* and in a condensed text in Vol. X, No. 7, of *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*. Its author was an official of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee staff whose name was D. Shevlyagin. His denunciations of deviationists in the American Communist Party, as a matter of fact, even included the specific mention of your name, A. B. Magil, is that not correct?

Mr. MAGIL. I again invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. I ask you to examine a copy of the article in the Soviet Communist publication to which I have referred. For the purpose of the record, I am going to read into the record the matter to which I am referring:

In July 1956, the Daily Worker printed an article by A. B. Magil in which he raised the question, "Is democratic centralism one of the basic principles of Marxist-Leninist theory?" He replied: "In my view, it is not." Arguing his stand, he asserted that "democratic centralism, proclaimed by Lenin and the Bolshevik party, was the product of specific Russian conditions." "Democratic centralism," according to Magil, "is applicable only under such conditions as exceptional economic backwardness, semifeudal social relations, absolute dictatorship and absence of democracy".

Do you recollect that article, Mr. Magil?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that partial translations of the Soviet articles to which I have just referred, the Ponomarev and the Shevlyagin articles, be introduced in evidence.

Mr. JOHANSEN. It will be introduced without objection.

(Documents marked "Magil Exhibits Nos. 27 and 28," respectively. See Appendix, pp. 912, 913 and 914-917.)

Mr. JOHANSEN. May I say it must be the ultimate sacrifice in invoking the fifth amendment to have to disclaim one's own brain-child.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Magil, I would like to recall to you some of the very frank statements made by a Soviet Communist in the course of a severe attack on deviationists in the World Communist Movement. This Soviet Communist, Comrade Shevlyagin, previously referred to, an official of the Central Committee staff, Communist Party Soviet Union, declared:

The Communist Parties of Brazil, Great Britain, Canada, the United States and other countries demanded, instead of democratic centralism, adoption of the principle of "democratic leadership," the right of the minority to organize factions, to reject and refuse to submit to majority decisions, to "fight to become the majority."

Like the "national Communists" in the people's democracies, the revisionists in the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries campaigned for withdrawing their Parties from the international Communist movement and, above all, for severing contact with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. * * * In the guise of comradely criticism there occurred defamation of the entire experience of and outright slanderous attacks upon many of the Parties and especially the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as the leading force of the Communist movement.

He then went on to say that democratic centralism provided democracy through the election of leadership. "Centralism," he said, "means unity of the Party program and Statutes, unity of leadership, obligatory, uniform discipline and acceptance by all Communists of the majority's decisions."

He further declared that democratic centralism "ensures unity of will and action for the Party, makes it highly organized and gives it fighting effectiveness."

Revisionists who would give a minority in the party the right to seek to become a majority, in effect, he said, "attempt to reduce the revolutionary proletarian party to the level of ordinary bourgeois parties."

This writer, Shevlyagin, also castigated Communist revisionists for declaring that the "peaceful way of transition from capitalism to socialism" is "the exclusive and only way."

Shevlyagin reminded the Communist faithful that a peaceful transition is only "a possible way." He further said that the defeat of such revisionists was the "chief task" of Communist parties everywhere.

By Shevlyagin's definition, could you be considered an American Communist revisionist, Mr. Magil?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I respectfully invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Counsel, you are directing your question to whether he could be considered a revisionist at the time this statement was made, is that correct?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes. Let us assume that question was asked in the form in which you have presented it, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MAGIL. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, let me rephrase the question in this way:

Apart from whether or not you were in fact a revisionist at that time, would you be a revisionist under Shevlyagin's definition of democratic centralism?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I am invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Shevlyagin quoted your *Daily Worker* article, which we discussed earlier, as an example of revisionism in the Communist Party of the United States. You are aware of that fact, are you not?

Mr. MAGIL. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. He also denounced John Gates particularly, who was the *Daily Worker* editor-in-chief. He condemned a statement appearing in the *Daily Worker* by a California Communist official named William Schneiderman; also writings by New York Communist official, William Norman, in a Discussion Bulletin. The Discussion Bulletin, as you know, is a secret internal publication of the Communist Party in this country, but certainly not kept secret from Moscow as it obviously appears.

I suggest that you knew all about the publication called Discussion Bulletin. I want to give you the opportunity to affirm or deny that suggestion.

Mr. MAGIL. I again invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. As a matter of fact, Mr. Magil, you were really misquoted in Moscow, were you not?

Mr. MAGIL. Once more I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. I show you a reproduction of a letter to the editor of *The Worker* on March 23, 1958, over your signature, which will be marked for identification as Magil Exhibit No. 29.

On March 23, 1958, you appeared to be writing letters to the *Daily Worker* rather than composing for it. You refer in that letter to the Moscow criticism of yourself, and you note that the statement which you had made in July 1956 was long before the appearance of the *Kommunist* criticism in December 1957.

You state on March 23, 1958:

Even if these articles contained wrong ideas, it strikes me as highly irresponsible to smear two veterans of the American Communist movement as revisionists on the basis of single articles. However, the fact is that Shevliagin distorted the meaning of both articles. In the case of my piece, which appeared in *The Worker* of July 22, 1956, he not only quoted out of context, but put in quotation marks words I never used which changed the meaning of one passage.

Schneiderman's article rejected the proposal of a non-party political action association; mine was a polemic against those who wanted to abandon democratic centralism. At the same time both articles proposed changes in the direction of greater democracy in the Communist Party. These proposals reflected strongly articulated majority thinking among party members * * *.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Do I understand, Mr. Nittle, in that quotation that you read, a person alleged to be a member of the Communist Party accused Communists of smearing?

Mr. NITTLE. This is a reply by Mr. Magil.

Mr. JOHANSEN. But the word "smear" was used.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, I see you are referring to that portion. The article begins "Even if these articles contained wrong ideas," this is quoting Mr. Magil's letter in *The Worker*, "It strikes me as highly irresponsible to smear two veterans of the American Communist movement."

Mr. JOHANSEN. This was not the House Un-American Activities Committee that was smearing somebody in this instance?

Mr. NITTLE. No. It appears to me that in this instance a Soviet Communist was smearing American Communists, as you pointed out.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I am going back to the fact that there was an accusation of a smear not directed at this committee.

Mr. NITTLE. Here the Communists were smearing each other.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I wanted to be sure I heard correctly.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Magil, the quotations that were used by Shevlyagin in Moscow made it appear that you were a greater deviationist than you actually claimed to be or thought you were. He indicated that you were opposed to democratic centralism as a principle of party organization, whereas your article actually called for full enforcement of democratic centralism, which, as you said and as even Shevlyagin has said, included the election of party leaders.

You had also called for introduction of the right of dissent. With that concept Shevlyagin had no sympathy in his article, is that not a correct summation?

Mr. MAGIL. I again invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. When you were writing to *The Worker* in March 1958, and stated that your article may have contained "wrong ideas," you had reference to the introduction of such democratic concepts

in the party organization as the election of leaders and the right of dissent, did you not?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Your letter to *The Worker* further stated that the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States at a recent meeting had adopted a motion terming "inaccurate" the *Kommunist* references to yourself and William Schneiderman as revisionists.

Now, Schneiderman, to whom you referred, was a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, until the end of 1959, was he not?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Why was there no declaration by the National Committee regarding the accuracy of the Moscow condemnation of John Gates and William Norman?

Mr. MAGIL. Once more I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Was there a difference between the National Committee reference to yourself and the reference to Gates and William Norman, because Gates and Norman, as Shevlyagin pointed out, backed complete transformation of the party organization into a democratic, locally run party, abandoning principles of democratic centralism, whereas you had not gone that far?

Mr. MAGIL. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Did they leave room for you to remain in the party?

Mr. MAGIL. I again invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Did the party regard your confession of error as a mitigation of your particular situation so that they did not expel you personally from the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. MAGIL. Same answer, I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Shevlyagin, in the statement to which we have referred, made this statement:

The struggle against the right opportunists was not carried through to the end at the Congress [referring to the Communist Party, USA, convention, February 1957.] and this has had an adverse effect upon the further work of the Party. Elements favoring a conciliatory stand are continuing their factional activity. Nevertheless, the important decisions adopted at the 16th Congress [meaning convention], especially the resolutions on continuing the Party's existence and on its activity and tasks, can greatly facilitate victory of the healthy elements in the Party, the elements standing by Marxist-Leninist positions.

What healthy elements was Shevlyagin referring to?

Mr. MAGIL. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Was he not referring to the Foster faction?

Mr. MAGIL. Same answer, I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Before we proceed, I am not clear whether the letter Mr. Magil wrote to the editor of *The Worker* was incorporated in the record. I would certainly hope if it hasn't been that you would request it be so incorporated.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I request that it be entered in the record as Magil Exhibit No. 29.

(Document marked "Magil Exhibit No. 29." See Appendix, pp. 918, 919.)

Mr. NITTLE. Now I hand you, Mr. Magil, reproduction of *The Worker* for March 9, 1958, identified as Magil Exhibit 30, and the *New York Times* of February 22, 1958, page 5, identified as Magil

Exhibit 31, which refer to actions taken by the National Committee at its session on February 15 and 16, 1958.

At this meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, the entire 20-member National Executive Committee of the party was declared dissolved. Nine Communists were named to a new 15-man executive committee, with additional members scheduled for selection at a later meeting. Foster, who had suffered a stroke the preceding October, was not personally represented on the committee, but there was strong support for his concepts through the presence of such Executive Committee members as Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Eugene Dennis, James E. Jackson, Jack Stachel, and Robert Thompson. These latterly named persons were identified with Foster in support of his monolithic concepts against the John Gates revisionist faction.

Are the statements of occurrences which are reflected in those items correct?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. I ask, Mr. Chairman, that the two items I have just referred to be marked Magil Exhibits Nos. 30 and 31, respectively, and incorporated in the record.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Documents marked "Magil Exhibits Nos. 30 and 31," respectively. See Appendix, pp. 920-924 and 925.)

Mr. NITTLE. According to *The Worker* article, Exhibit 30 which you have just read, the new National Executive Committee assessed the February 1958 National Committee meeting as "an event of critical importance for our party" and as completely repudiating "the revisionist views of a John Gates." The new executive committee further said that, "Having adopted a clear policy perspective in relation to the current situation and the party, * * * the [National Committee] meeting undertook to elect a leadership capable of carrying out this line * * *."

In non-Communist terms, Mr. Magil, the party was now ready to resume full-scale activity under the leadership of Communists dedicated to the traditional monolithic, undemocratic, Soviet-oriented principles of party organization. Is that not right?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. And this was foreseen, was it not, when the Communists on the National Executive Committee who were opposed to Gates secured, in December 1957, passage of a National Executive Committee resolution, calling for immediate suspension of the *Daily Worker* which Gates edited?

Mr. MAGIL. Once more I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. And did not John Gates' subsequent resignation from the *Daily Worker* and the party in January 1958 clear the way for a complete leadership shake-up?

Mr. MAGIL. Same answer, I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Gates subsequently described a bitter fight which took place within the top party leadership from the time of the 16th National Convention in 1957 until the time of his resignation. He told how the proponents of change were asked to compromise for convention purposes and how the Foster forces immediately thereafter fought all convention actions inspired by revisionists and reneged on giving them an opportunity to settle the matter in fair debate.

Mr. Chairman, I offer for identification purposes, Magil Exhibit No. 32, being excerpts from John Gates' book *The Story of An American Communist*.

Do you recall that, in his letter of resignation, made public on January 10, 1958, Gates declared, "I have come to the reluctant conclusion that the party cannot be changed from within and that the fight to do so is hopeless"?

Mr. MAGIL. That was the question concerning Gates' letter of resignation. I invoke the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Magil Exhibit No. 32" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have knowledge of this letter of resignation?

Mr. MAGIL. Same answer, I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you make efforts of your own to change the party from within other than those efforts to which I have alluded in the course of the examination?

Mr. MAGIL. Once more I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, will you look at a reproduction of a statement of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party, USA, adopted August 12, 1958, dealing with what it calls "the evil of factionalism," which appeared in *Party Affairs* of September 1958.

The National Executive Committee in that statement points out a recent "factional act" to be—

the circulation by Comrade Abe Magil of an article expressing his views on the Yugoslav situation, after it had been rejected for publication by *The Worker*. Following the rejection, Comrade Magil made no effort to avail himself of other possible channels of publication open to him [sic], nor did he discuss the matter with the Party leadership. Instead, he privately mimeographed the article and sent it, with a letter attempting to justify this action, to "the members of the Party's National Committee and to others who I think might want to read it."

There can be no doubt that Comrade Magil, long experienced in these matters, was fully aware of the nature and import of his action. Hence it can be construed as nothing other than a deliberate piece of factionalism. As such, it must be condemned and Comrade Magil must be severely censured for the willful commission of such an anti-Party act.

The continued circulation of factional documents, whatever their nature or origin, cannot be tolerated in our Party. We warn that any further instances will be met with immediate disciplinary action.

Mr. JOHANSEN. This was the newly constituted party leadership that issued this pronouncement, is that correct?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Now, did you thereafter comply with that directive or statement, Mr. Magil?

Mr. MAGIL. Once more I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Was there any further disciplinary action other than your removal from the staff of *The Worker*?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you now simply a rank and file member, or have you resumed a functionary capacity after that disciplining?

Mr. MAGIL. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, we respectfully request that the National Executive Committee statement of August 12, 1958, be marked Magil Exhibit No. 33, and incorporated in the record.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Magil Exhibit No. 33." See Appendix, p. 926.)

Mr. NITTLE. The staff has no further questions of this witness, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Bruce?

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Magil, are you married?

Mr. MAGIL. Yes, I am.

Mr. BRUCE. Do you have children?

Mr. MAGIL. One child.

Mr. BRUCE. In view of what is obvious in the testimony of at least your past activities in the Communist Party, doesn't it ever bother you to think that if you succeeded in the program outlined by the Communist Party, what future that child would have?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MAGIL. Again I decline to answer, invoking my constitutional privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. BRUCE. The question was raised a while ago, and I understand that you did invoke the fifth amendment, concerning the operation within the United States of what one could call the Soviet secret police apparatus. To your knowledge, is this apparatus ever engaged in acts of violence or even murder within the United States?

Mr. MAGIL. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. BRUCE. I have no further questions.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Would the possibility of such action by the Communist secret police against you have some bearing on your fear about self-incrimination? Is that where you might find you have incriminated yourself if you answered these questions?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MAGIL. No, that is not the basis on which I am invoking my constitutional rights.

Mr. BRUCE. Are you in the position now of being open to blackmail from the Communist Party?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MAGIL. Again I decline to answer, invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I have nothing further, Mr. Nittle.

The witness is excused.

The committee will recess for 5 minutes.

(Brief recess.)

Mr. JOHANSEN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. McNamara will resume the stand.

TESTIMONY OF FRANCIS J. McNAMARA—Resumed

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. McNamara, in your previous testimony you made reference to various efforts by the Soviet leadership to quash independence movements of various Communists throughout the world, in the 1956-1957 period, by the spoken and written word and various international conferences beginning with a gathering of 60-odd Communist parties in Moscow in November 1957.

The committee has explored the effect of a number of these efforts by Moscow in course of the interrogation of Mr. A. B. Magil, who had the dubious distinction of personally receiving Soviet castigation for deviationist views as to the proper type of organization for the Communist Party in America.

What does the Communists' own record show regarding the final effect of this Moscow campaign upon the Communist Party organization in the United States?

Mr. McNAMARA. I have already mentioned briefly the November 1957 gathering of Communist representatives from all over the world in Moscow, a gathering that was called by Khrushchev as part of his effort to re-establish Moscow's leadership over the World Communist Movement, which had been seriously infected with both dissent and, to some extent, confusion.

I have also mentioned the fact that 65 Communist parties signed a manifesto at that meeting, expressing complete unity with one another and the Soviet Union and also recognizing the Soviet Union's leadership of the World Communist Movement.

Even more important than this declaration, however, was the one signed by the 12 Communist parties which actually control governments, including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This declaration or statement, like the previously mentioned manifesto, not only avowed unity of views and aims with the Soviet leadership but also went further. It contained a denunciation of straying Communists in terms that were remarkably reminiscent of some of the old dictates of the Communist International, or Comintern, of years ago. In this declaration, the weight of the world's strongest parties was thrown behind a call to all Communist parties on the earth, actually, to rid their ranks of all individuals, factions, and groups which, in the words of the declaration—

deny the historical necessity for a proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, deny the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, reject the principles of proletarian internationalism and call for a rejection of the Leninist principles of party organization and, above all, of democratic centralism, for transforming the Communist Party from a militant revolutionary organization into some kind of debating society.

Mr. NITTLE. These were certainly questions raised by a good many American Communists whose statements have been incorporated in the record. How was this declaration greeted by American Communists?

Mr. McNAMARA. Communist Party members in the United States, especially the deviationists, I believe, saw what this statement meant to them; and it appears to have played a very important role in the final settlement of the dispute that had raged within the party as to its future nature. It should be remembered that the concepts or views on party organization that were denounced at this gathering in Moscow in 1957 and in these statements, were the views, to a greater or lesser degree, of those Communists who held the majority of leadership positions in the American Communist organization. This meant, in effect, that the majority leadership of the United States Communist Party had been declared to be incorrect or revisionist by a world Communist forum.

For example, John Gates, the most prominent of the revisionists in the American Communist Party because of his editorship of the *Daily Worker*, has stated that this November 1957 Moscow declaration was one of the two events which finally "decided my course." By "my course" he meant his ultimate resignation from the party, which took place the following January when he despaired of ever introducing any truly democratic reforms into the Communist Party, USA.

The other event, he said, was the dissolution of the *Daily Worker*, which was ordered in December 1957 and became effective in February 1958. I would like to quote what Gates has written regarding the use of the 12-party statement made by the Foster faction, which was to win control of the party organization in February 1958. I quote:

Two events decided my course. The first was the 12-Party statement at the Moscow celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Russian Revolution; it had been signed by leaders of all the Communist states, except for Yugoslavia. In content, it was a clear retreat to the rigid and dogmatic days of the unlamented Cominform. To make matters worse, Thompson, Dennis and Davis [that is, US Party leaders Robert Thompson, Eugene Dennis, and Benjamin Davis] now insisted that the American Communists must endorse this declaration—despite the fact that it had been evidently restricted to those states in which the Communists held power. The purpose was to establish a new loyalty test by which to judge party members.

Mr. NITTLE. That statement is contained in John Gates' book, *The Story of An American Communist*, is it not?

Mr. McNAMARA. That is true. That is published by Thomas Nelson & Sons, New York, 1958. The page reference is 188.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully ask that the item just referred to be introduced in the record as Committee Exhibit No. 29.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Committee Exhibit No. 29" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. What was the next development in the party controversy in this country?

Mr. McNAMARA. The National Administrative Committee of the Communist Party met on December 2, 1957. At this meeting a bitter fight arose because four members of this seven-man "collective leadership" body sought to adopt a public statement, in the name of the entire American party organization, supporting the 12-party declaration which had been issued in Moscow in November 1957. The four were Eugene Dennis, Benjamin Davis, Hy Lumer, and James Jackson. Opposed to them were administrative committee members John Gates, Sid Stein, and Fred Fine, whom the Foster forces had been violently attacking for seeking to revise and reform the party organization.

Obviously a statement of this type would have put the Gates group in an untenable position because, in spite of the fact that it had been condemned by Moscow, it still had a majority control on other leading bodies of the Communist Party of the United States.

Then, on December 20, 21, and 22, 1957, there was a meeting of the party's larger ruling body, the National Executive Committee. The pro-Gates majority in this body obtained adoption of a resolution censuring the four administrative committee members for having tried to act bureaucratically in the name of the entire party on so important an issue. At this same meeting, the National Executive Committee, according to the *People's World* of January 11, 1958, adopted an extremely noncommittal statement on the 12-party declaration. The statement, published in *Political Affairs* of January 1958, not only failed to endorse the stand taken by the leading parties at Moscow, but leaned a bit over in the other direction, because it warned the foreign Communist parties that American Communists intended to make "our own independent contribution" to communism. Voting against this NEC statement in

December, needless to state, were the four censured administrative committee members, Dennis, Davis, Lumer, and Jackson, who were joined by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Robert Thompson.

The National Executive Committee, however, also voted to suspend publication of the *Daily Worker* and to continue only the Sunday edition. The paper admittedly was in a critical financial status, suffering from a drastic loss of circulation caused both by loss of Gates supporters who had left the party during the crisis and, according to Editor Gates, by Foster's campaign against the paper. Gates has also charged that the pro-Foster forces, in order to achieve victory in the internal power struggle with the Gates forces, "deliberately" withheld substantial funds which could have helped the paper over its financial crisis.

Mr. NITTLE. I ask that the article from the *People's World* of January 11, 1958, be introduced in the record as Committee Exhibit No. 30 and made a part of the printed record.

Mr. JOHANSEN. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Committee Exhibit No. 30." See Appendix, pp. 927, 928.)

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. McNamara, just to clarify the record, this reference to the four who did or attempted to issue a statement, was their position sympathetic to the Foster element?

Mr. McNAMARA. That is right. These were the Foster-line representatives on the National Administrative Committee and they stood for complete support of Moscow. They wanted to come out with a statement in the name of the full American Communist Party completely endorsing the 12-party Moscow declaration of 1957.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I am not anticipating your subsequent testimony, but these four represented the element which subsequently prevailed?

Mr. McNAMARA. That is true. It was after the suspension of the *Daily Worker* that John Gates resigned, as he has said many other Communists did, rather than continue the fight. They realized at this point that with Moscow behind the Foster faction lined up against them, their case was hopeless. There was no chance of reforming the party from within whatsoever.

A new party leadership was finally installed at a meeting of the National Committee in New York City on February 15-16, 1958. This meeting abolished the party body known as the National Administrative Committee and also dissolved the old 20-member National Executive Committee, on which revisionists had so long held a majority. The National Committee named the following nine Communists to a new National Executive Committee, which was eventually to be expanded to 15 members: Eugene Dennis, Ben Davis, James Jackson, Hy Lumer, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Robert Thompson, Jack Stachel, George Meyers, and Albert Lima. It should be observed that six of these nine had been outspoken in behalf of all-out support of the Moscow 12-party declaration during the wrangling in top party councils in December 1957 and that eight of the nine have long been identified as unwavering supporters of Soviet Communist leadership.

The nine new leaders moved quickly to show that the party at last was the disciplined, monolithic, faithfully pro-Soviet vehicle which the 12-party declaration had demanded. In obedience to a

resolution adopted by the National Committee at its crucial February 1958 meeting, the new National Executive Committee issued another public statement on the 12-party declaration. This statement, which was printed in the June 1958 issue of *Political Affairs*, presents an interesting contrast with the previous very noncommittal statement made by the preceding revisionist-dominated National Executive Committee. The earlier statement had been printed, as previously stated, in the January 1958 issue of *Political Affairs*.

This new declaration or statement was characterized by complete agreement with every word fashioned by the foreign Communists under Khrushchev's direction in Moscow in November 1957. It demonstrated clearly that the revisionists in the United States Communist Party had been finally and conclusively defeated in their efforts to instill some semblance of democratic and independent principles and actions within the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. NITTLE. I request that these contrasting statements by the U.S. Communist Party leadership on the 12-party declaration be marked as Committee Exhibits Nos. 31 and 32, respectively, and made a part of the printed record.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Without objection, they will be admitted.

(Documents marked "Committee Exhibits Nos. 31 and 32," respectively. See Appendix, pp. 929-933 and 934-938.)

Mr. JOHANSEN. What were the mechanics of replacement?

Mr. McNAMARA. There is an exhibit introduced in the latter part of Mr. Magil's testimony which reveals the development there, the setup of a new National Executive Committee.¹

Mr. JOHANSEN. Who did the setting up? That is what I am trying to ask.

Mr. McNAMARA. Putting it as simply and accurately as I can, I would say that the Foster faction, with the backing of Moscow, gradually took over during the early months of 1958. The Gates group realized that they could not remain in the Moscow party and gave up. Gates resigned. Most of his supporters and chief followers had resigned.

Mr. JOHANSEN. In other words, it was a takeover and an abdication?

Mr. McNAMARA. That is right. It was a surrender of the right deviationists, in the face of Moscow's opposition, to the Foster group, which stood completely by the Kremlin.

That concludes my present testimony. We have prepared additional material bringing developments within the party up to date, but because of the time element it will not be possible to present that material now.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I hope there will be an early opportunity to do that. I am most interested in the gap between the terminal period of your testimony and the present time. I think it would be most valuable.

Mr. McNAMARA. I know Mr. Tavenner, the director, has expressed an interest in resuming these hearings at some future date, at which time the additional evidence, documentation, and testimony could be presented.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Very good.

Is that all, Mr. Nittle?

¹ See Appendix, p. 925, Magil Exhibit No. 31.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JOHANSEN. The hearings today stand adjourned, subject to call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 5:40 p.m., Wednesday, November 22, 1961, the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.)

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